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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Pro-Slavery.

PASTORAL ADDRESS

Of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the Societies under its care, within the bounds of the Northampton and Accomac Circuits.

DEAR BRETHREN:—That glorious work of religion which for nearly a hundred years has pervaded our country by means of the Methodist ministry, and economy, has nowhere been more signal, than upon the Peninsula, of which your territory is a part. It was here that the venerated Asbury frequently ministered, and from the homes of your fathers, he sent his letters to Mr. Wesley, informing him of the wonderful work of God in America. Indeed, he was accustomed to speak of the Peninsula, as the garden spot of Methodism. We, too, have been accustomed to hear our fathers speak of it in the same terms; insomuch that your "praise is in all the churches."

It is, therefore, with unfeigned regret that we have learned, that events have occurred which threaten to alienate from this Conference, the confidence and kindly feelings of a portion, at least, of your community. Whatever may be the feelings of those whose expressions towards us may appear to be inconsiderate, we must be permitted to avow that we are greatly pained at the thought of losing their confidence and affection. We cannot forget their kindness to us as a body of ministers for more than threescore years; and shall ever retain a lively remembrance of the spiritual communion we have so often had with them, which we regarded as a manifestation of the grace which we preached among them, and the love they bore toward us. We hold you, brethren, as a part of the flock of Christ which we have received as a precious legacy from our fathers; and God is our record how greatly we long for you all in the bowels of Jesus.

In addressing you as your pastors, we would at all times use words of truth and soberness; and more especially would we, on this occasion, speak to you in the fear of God. We feel persuaded that the unhappy excitement, and its disastrous consequences, which have been manifested within your bounds, are owing to a misapprehension of the views and feelings of this Conference. It is of these we would speak to you in this address, and not of those particular transactions among you which have disturbed your peace, and embarrassed the free publication of the Word of God among you by us as heretofore.

It is well known to you, that at the late General Conference a violent rupture of our Church was apprehended. The spirit of peace and charity suggested the provision of a plan which should lessen the evils of division, if division, as was apprehended, should become inevitable. It is not our purpose to inquire whether a division of the Church was necessary. The division has taken place; and it is material to observe that each portion of the Church has claimed to regulate its administration by the plan provided to meet the exigency.

Finding that some portions of the Church, South, had suggested, and it was said had, in some cases, acted on the suggestion, that a border Conference, not voting to adhere to either side, was not under the protection of the plan in respect to restraining pastoral jurisdiction from the adjacent Conference; and that ours was regarded by them as a border Conference; in order to cut off all occasion, and thereby to insure peace in the Church and community, we voted to adhere to the Methodist Episcopal Church, notwithstanding we are of opinion that we are not a border conference, within the meaning of the plan; as the Baltimore Conference and Chesapeake Bay intervene between us and the Virginia Conference. With this opinion agrees the decision of all our Bishops, as expressed in their resolution passed in Philadelphia, March 4th, last, and published in the Christian Advocate and Journal of the 24th of the same month, in these words, namely,—

"Whereas, the Discipline says, 'Virginia Conference shall be bounded on the east by the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean;' and 'Philadelphia Conference shall include the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia'—the Chesapeake Bay, an arm of the ocean being between them, therefore resolved, That in our administration, we will regard the 'Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia' as not being 'border' work in the sense of the 'Plan of Separation.'"

We cannot, therefore, but regard all the Methodist Societies within the Peninsula, as under our pastoral jurisdiction, according to the provisions of the plan of separation; and we have good hope that there will be an agreement with us in this opinion, when the matter is carefully and dispassionately considered.

If the plan of separation gives us the pastoral care of you, it remains to inquire whether we have done anything as a Conference, or as men, to forfeit your confidence and affection. We are not advised that even in the great excitement which has distressed you for some months past, any one has impeached our moral conduct, or charged us with unsoundness in doctrine, or corruption, or tyranny in the administration of discipline. But we learn that the simple cause of the unhappy excitement among you is, that some suspect us, or affect to suspect us, of being Abolitionists. Yet, no particular act of the Conference, or any particular member thereof, is adduced, as the ground of the erroneous and injurious suspicion. We would ask you, brethren, whether the conduct of our ministry among you for sixty years past, ought not to be sufficient to protect us from this charge? Whether the question we have been accustomed, for a few years past, to put to candidates for admission among us, namely, *Are you an Abolitionist?* and without each one answered in the negative, he was not received, ought not to protect us from the charge. Whether the action of the last Conference on this particular matter, ought not to satisfy any fair and candid mind, that we are not, and do not desire to be, Abolitionists. The views and purposes of the last Conference to which we refer, were expressed in the words below, which we must believe have not been generally read in your community, or the apprehensions which have been so earnestly expressed, would never have been entertained. The words of the Conference are:—

The Committee, to whom was referred a certain preamble and resolution on the subject of Slavery and abolition, recommend the following report:

"That we, the members of the Philadelphia Annual Conference, are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of Slavery; but at the same time we know our calling too well to interfere with matters not properly belonging to the Christian ministry. We stand, in relation to slavery and abolition, where we have always stood, and where we expect to stand, 'walking by the same rule, and minding the same things;' and ask that our action in the past may be taken as an index to our action in the future; therefore,

"Resolved, That we will abide by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church as it is; and will resist every attempt to alter it in reference to Slavery, so as to change the terms of membership.

"Resolved, That we sincerely deprecate all agitation of the exciting subjects which have unhappily divided the Church; and, impressed with the vital importance, especially for these times, of the apostolic injunction, 'Be at peace among yourselves,' we will, as far as lies in our power, 'follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.'"

Upon presenting this paper to you, in which we say, "We stand in relation to Slavery and abolition where we have always stood," it is proper that we should remind you of the fact, that the provisions in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with respect to Slavery, are precisely the same, even to the very words. We cannot, therefore, see how we can be regarded as Abolitionists without the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being considered in the same light. We must indulge the hope, that when the facts and reasonings contained in this address come to be known to you, and to those among whom you live, reflection and truth will regain their wonted ascendancy, and peace and confidence return to your afflicted community. We would also say, that there are members of this Conference, who have from time to time, given you the most conclusive evidence, by their public acts and writings, that they are far from being Abolitionists, and who, with confidence and love, abide in the Conference of their early choice.

In conclusion, brethren, allow us to assure you of our kindest regards, our tenderest sympathy, and our earnest and continued prayers for you; and to exhort you to use forbearance and prudence in your severe trials. We have confidence that you will stand fast, and prove yourselves worthy in these, your afflictions. We trust, in a short time, you will have the presence, and spiritual comfort, and support of ministers, such as you have been accustomed to esteem and reverence. And being fully apprized of your difficulties, and carefully advised and admonished of their delicate and arduous duties, we doubt not but that they will satisfy you by their conduct, of our kind and upright intentions herein set forth to you.

Wishing you all heavenly benedictions, we are, dear brethren, yours, in Christ Jesus,

J. P. DURBIN,
J. KENNADAY,
IGNATIUS T. COOPER, } *Comm.*
WILLIAM H. GILDER,
JOSEPH CASTLE,

Wilmington, (Del). April 7, 1847.

Selections.

From the Christian Penny Record.

THE REV. JAMES CAUGHEY AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The Rev. Mr. Caughey, referred to in the article below, has, if we are not mistaken, been a resident of this city, though he is by birth an Irishman. We ask his Irish friends, who believe in his Anti-Slavery, to read the foregoing official document, from one Conference of the Church to which he returns:

SIR:—It is a good thing to be found in good company. I find by a speech, delivered by the Rev. James Caughey, at Mirfield, recently reported in the *Wesleyan*, that his Anti-Slavery opinions are very much improved. He desired to vindicate his character in regard to Slavery. It had been stated that he was a slave-owner, and that, in America, he had voted in favour of Slavery. That statement was entirely false. He was never the owner of a slave, nor did he ever vote in favour of Slavery, and if he were a slaveholder, he would set his slaves free in an hour. He could hold out no hope of salvation to the slave-owner, and he trusted to return to America with a greater abhorrence of Slavery than ever. He was glad that public opinion was awakened in England. Let England tell America, firmly, but kindly, that she will not shake hands with her until she wipes away that stain from her national character. This, Sir, is a great improvement in Mr. Caughey's Anti-Slavery sentiments, at which I greatly rejoice. It proves that the company he has kept for some time, has been extracting from his mind a portion of that deep-rooted pro-slavery prejudice which characterizes the American clergy, almost to a man. In 1841, when Mr. Caughey visited Dublin, he gave utterance to sentiments directly opposed to those I have quoted. He says he never voted in favour of Slavery,—but he does not say that he ever *voted against it*. In this matter, those who are not for us are against us. He says if he were a slave-owner, he would liberate his slaves in an hour,—in 1841, he contended for cases in which it would be wrong to emancipate. Now, he can hold out no hope of salvation to the slaveholder,—in 1841, he affirmed that Slavery was a creature of the law, that the slaveholder was not responsible, and that a man could be a *good Christian* and a *man-stealer*. He trusts now to return to America with a greater abhorrence of Slavery than ever,—in 1841, your Enniscorthy correspondent, Mr. Robert Johnston, was addressing letters to him (Mr. C.) upon this subject. They met at my house to try if they could understand each other, and thus prevent the publication of the letters. On that occasion I asked Mr. Caughey whether he would promise that, on his return to America, he would, in Conference and elsewhere, advocate the cause of the slave? His answer was, "I will pledge myself to nothing. I must first see the finger of God pointing me to it." Mr. Caughey is now glad that public opinion is awakened in these lands,—in 1841, he considered the Anti-Slavery movement in Dublin, which Mr. Johnston was engaged in, a service of the devil; and thought that it would be better for Mr. Johnston to be at the penitent form, than engaged in writing letters. What use was it to trouble the people here? Christians could do nothing, by remonstrance or otherwise, towards the abolition of American Slavery! Now, Mr. Caughey says, "Let England remonstrate firmly with America." Good. But I would rather hear him say, "Let the *churches* of these countries remonstrate firmly with the churches of *America*; for these churches, beyond all doubt, are the bulwarks of Slavery. I understand that Mr. Caughey is about to return to America, and intends to unite again with the Methodist Episcopal Church. If he is now a sincere Abolitionist, how can he do this, while in that Church the members sell each other, at the auction-block, to the highest bidder? And this is not considered an offence subjecting them to discipline—for slaves are bought and sold by *ministers*, as well as members! The following resolutions are recorded in the minutes of the Conference:

"That Slavery is an evil which the Church can do nothing to remedy. That we are decidedly of opinion that none ought to be elected to the office of deacon or elder in the Church, unless he give a PLEDGE to the Conference, that he will refrain from agitating the Church on this subject (Anti-Slavery.")

"That we are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and *wholly disclaim any right wish, or intention to interfere* in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding States of this Union."

The same Conference passed a vote of censure, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-two, to eleven, upon two of its members, for lecturing against Slavery. And again, it was resolved—

"That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for a coloured person to testify against a white person in Church trials, in those States where such testimony is not admitted by courts of law; and that those brethren and citizens of the North, who resist the abolition movement with firmness and moderation, are the true friends to the Church, to the slaves of the South, and to the Constitution of our common country."

These, Sir, are but *some* of the *mild* doings of that Anti-Christian Church, to which Mr. Caughey is about to return,—with the additional light he has obtained, by the good company he has kept in Britain! I ask him, can he, as a true minister of the blessed Gospel, return to such a corrupt Church, and be guiltless? As long as he stands in connection with the slaveholding Church, *he must be in a pro-slavery position*. I say, then, let him come out of the unclean place! Christianity demands it,—the character of a *true* minister of Christ demands it,—suffering humanity, in the persons of three millions of slaves, on the American soil, demands it,—faithfulness to the Church and to the world, demands it! I call upon Mr. Caughey to consider this matter, as "one that must give an account." What would be said of a minister professing to be called of God, if he were to go to a Church full of *pickpockets, sheep-stealers*, and *adulterers*—and these things are not done in a corner, but publicly, unblushingly, in the face of the world, and defended by the divines of the Church? Would he not be denounced as a deceiver? And yet such a Church would not be worse in its essential character than the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, with which Mr. Caughey is again about to connect himself. Can this inconsistency be explained or answered?

I am, Sir, yours, obediently,
W. SHORTT.

DUBLIN, February 22, 1847.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOIREE.

We find in Douglas Jerrold's newspaper, the following account of a farewell meeting given to Frederick Douglass in London:

On Tuesday evening, a farewell *soirée*, given as a mark of respect and esteem to Mr. Frederick Douglass, the champion of the cause of slavery abolition, previous to his departure to America, was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate street, and was very numerously attended, seven hundred ladies and gentlemen being present. The guests arrived at half-past six, and were entertained by vocal music till eight o'clock, when George Thompson, Esq. took the chair, and proceeded to address the meeting.—The following sentiments were proposed and seconded by several gentlemen, who spoke at length in their favour, and when put to the meeting, were carried by acclamation:—"This assembly hereby expresses its deep abhorrence of the system of Slavery, which dooms to compulsory, unmitigated, and uncompensated toil, attended with unutterable cruelties, a large portion of the human family, and would especially mark its disapprobation of the American people proclaiming equal and inalienable heirship to liberty, as the birthright of every human being, and denying the enjoyment thereof to one-sixth part of its population for a period of seventy years now past, and further deprecate the conduct of those bodies of professing Christians, who, by their connection with the system, and apology for it, are at once strengthening and perpetuating it."—"This assembly hereby most earnestly appeals to the supreme Legislature of the United States to exercise its prerogative by abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, and the traffic between the States, and to the various Legislatures in the South, to emancipate the bondmen in their respective territories, as a means of securing honour and renown to the white population, and elevation and happiness to the slave."—"This assembly hereby tenders to Mr. Frederick Douglass their heartfelt congratulations on his attainment of the blessings of freedom: and having witnessed with delight his magnanimous and undaunted course in portraying so touchingly, the wrongs and sufferings, and advocating so irresistibly the inalienable rights of three millions of his fellow-beings, who are held in chains and Slavery in the United States, hereby expresses its unfeigned hope, that the great Parent of Good may spare his invaluable life to labour on their behalf, until the trump of Jubilee shall sound from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico."—Mr. F. Douglass came forward, and was loudly cheered. He assured the meeting that he felt most deeply grateful for their expressions of goodwill towards him, and their sentiments in favour of his brethren in America. He would take home with him those sentiments; they should be written on his heart, and he would use them in that land of boasted liberty on behalf of the three millions of his fellow beings longing for emancipation. He concluded an address of great length, by assuring the meeting of his grateful feeling towards his many friends in England, and begging them to accept what he had said as the outgushings of a surcharged heart. He now bade them farewell (loud and continued cheering). The meeting having passed a vote of thanks to the chairman, then separated.

From the Yankee Blade.

INTELLECT OF THE NEGRO RACE.

Of all the reasons urged by slaveholders and their apologists, to justify their criminal conduct, none is more common or more pertinaciously insisted on than that the negro is naturally inferior. The gross falsity of this assumption, as well as its utter irrelevancy even were it a just one, are so apparent to every candid mind, that we can only regard it as one of a thousand proofs to show how completely "damned custom" blinds men's eyes to the guilt of the most villainous practices. Granting the physiological truth of the assertion that the negro is only "the connecting link between man and the monkey," it does not follow that it is true morally. If the "niggers," as they are contemptuously termed, may be justly deprived of their liberties because they are mentally inferior to the whites, then with equal justice, may one race of whites tyranize over another less intelligent—"for what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." But we do not admit the radical inferiority of the black man. A thousand facts, as well as analogy, prove that his defects and faults belong to his *habits* rather than his *nature*, and are owing not to his physical or moral constitution, but to the grievous hardships to which he is exposed, and the obstacles that are everywhere thrown in the way of his advancement. Travellers who have visited the interior of Africa, testify that there, where the influence of the Slave-Trade is not felt, the disposition of the negro is mild, gentle, and amiable—that, far from wanting ingenuity, the natives have made high progress in the refined arts—that they have formed themselves into political societies of great extent and complicated structure—that their disposition to labour is as strong as that of whites similarly situated—that, in short, they manifest the same anxiety to improve their condition, the same propensity to advance in knowledge and virtue, that distinguish the human species over the rest of the globe. A hundred and fifty years have not elapsed, since Russia was covered with hordes of barbarians, among whom it would have been as miraculous to have discovered any examples of intellectual cultivation and refinement as at this day to find the phenomenon at Houssa or Timbuctoo; and the sneerers at negro improvement, who prate of the thickness of his head, and despise the effect of circumstances on character, would have had the same right to doom the Russians to everlasting barbarism, from an inspection of the Calmuc skull, as they now have to pronounce the fate of Africa from the heads, colour, and wool of its inhabitants.

It would be easy to adduce examples showing that the mocked and branded negro needs but an equal chance with his more fortunate brother, to make equal strides in cultivation. The struggle in Hayti, which immortalized the name of Toussaint, of itself fully tested and established the capacity of his race for self-government. It demolished the barrier of prejudice and caste, by "placing, almost at a single leap, a down-trodden and divided race upon a level with the best forms of Caucasian humanity; and this, too, not in the persons of a few anomalies, but by dozens and scores of brave soldiers, sagacious organizers, and even thinkers and writers." When we see negroes, as in St. Domingo, "organizing immense armies; laying plans of campaigns and sieges, which, if not scientific, have at least been to a certain degree successful against the finest troops of Europe; arranging forms of government, and even proceeding some length in executing the most difficult of human enterprises; entering into commercial relations with foreigners; acquiring a maritime force, and navigating vessels in the tropical seas, with as much skill and foresight as that complicated operation requires,"—it is time for us to set bounds to that presumptuous arrogance which would limit to our own race exclusively the characteristic privilege of the species.

A late able writer on this subject says, with much force—

The intellect of a savage race cannot be measured till their powers of mind are developed and expanded by mental culture. Effort is preliminary to attainment.—No criterion exists by which we can measure the mental power of man, whose life has been passed amid influences adverse to intellectual effort. Whatever may be a man's mental endowments,—how naturally brilliant and powerful soever may be his mind—he will become gradually assimilated to those among whom he lives. Placed among half-civilized beings, he partakes in and enjoys their pastimes; among intellectual and civilized men, he gradually divests himself of his habits of barbarism, and casts aside those bestial and degrading habits, characteristic of savages. Till, then, the savage is brought within the reach of influences calculated to develope and expand his powers, we are incompetent to judge of his intellectual calibre. So long as their minds are shrouded in superstition and ignorance—so long as the foot of the oppressor is planted firmly upon their necks—and so long as no efforts are made, either to leave them free to set about their own emancipation from the thraldom of ignorance, or to strike from them the galling chains of Slavery—we have nothing to guide us in our estimate of their capacity. Such, precisely being the condition of the sable sons of Africa, at the present moment,—being alike denied their personal freedom, and the means of intellectual and moral culture—we should far overstep the limits of our knowledge were we to judge them an inferior race. Nothing, therefore, can be argued unfavourable to the negro's mental power, in his present unenlightened state; and we now assert, that the united testimony of all history and experience goes to prove that the negro is on an equality with the other races of men,—in respect of mental endowments. Take but a single instance in ancient history—the Carthagenian nation—and the candid reader will yield the point. From the smallest beginnings becoming one of the mightiest nations of antiquity, Carthage will forever remain on the pages of history, a monument of the capacity of the negro race. And every page of history confirms the truth, that with equal advantages, the negro is capable of equal attainments.

Let us strive to remove the causes of the negro's degraded state—to break the chains of his enslavement, and to open the way, for the peaceable reign of intelligence and Christianity in his mind and heart. "So shall the blessing of those who are ready to perish, come upon us, and God, even our own God, shall cause his face to shine, and his richest consolation to inhabit our hearts."

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, Nov. 13, 1846.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

It is a melancholy fact, that negroes have become the only reliable staple of the tobacco-growing sections of Virginia—*the only reliable means of liquidating debts, foreign and domestic.* They are sold here by hundreds, under the hammer of the auctioneer. The domestic cannot compete with the Southwestern demand for them, for the plain reason, that the tobacco-grower cannot make one-half of one per cent. per annum upon slave-labour, whilst the cotton and sugar planters make, perhaps, from fifteen to twenty per cent.

There is in this undeniable statement of facts much matter for serious, if not melancholy, reflection. But it is not my purpose to enlarge upon this subject. My principal object is, to call the attention of the people of Virginia to the foul game which some of the Southern banks are playing upon us. *Our negroes are going by hundreds, yea, thousands, to the Southwest;* and what are we getting in return for them? Look around you, and see, fellow-citizens! We are trading off our slaves, whom we have nurtured through infancy; we are parting with them at a time of life when they have become able to help us "work for a living," and receiving as compensation for them a precarious paper currency, issued by the North Carolina and South Carolina banks!

From the Boston Mercantile Journal.

THE COLOURED POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The recent work on the population of Massachusetts, published by Dr. Chickering, gives some interesting statistics in relation to the coloured population of the State, from which we compile the following facts:

The coloured population in Massachusetts, comprise not merely the pure blacks of the African race, and their various mixtures with the whites, commonly called mulattoes, but also mixtures of the whites and others with the Indians. The number of those who are the pure descendants of the African race, is believed to constitute a very small part of the coloured population of the Commonwealth.

The number of the coloured persons in the Commonwealth in 1765, is estimated at 5,199. According to the census of 1790, the number was 5,463—showing an increase in twenty-five years of 5,07 per cent. In 1800, the number was 6,452—increase in ten years, 18.10 per cent. In 1810, 6,737—increase 4.41 per cent. In 1820, 6,740—increase, .04 per cent. In 1830, 7,045—increase, 4.52. In 1840, 8,669—increase, 23.05. The proportion of the coloured to the white population in 1765, was as 1 to 45.96. In 1790, the proportion was as 1 to 69.33. In 1840, as 1 to 84.09.

The increase of the coloured population during the several periods, as appears by the above, has been very unequal, and has been much less than that of the whites, with two exceptions, from 1790 to 1800, and from 1830 to 1840. These exceptions, says Dr. Chickering, may have been, in part at least, owing to the immigration of blacks from other States. The increase of the blacks during the seventy-five years, was 66.74 per cent. which is less than one-third (205.09 per cent.) of the whites.

The coloured population are now less distributed over the Commonwealth, and more concentrated in certain towns and localities, and have been so of late years, more than formerly. The whole number of incorporated towns and districts, was greater than that of those containing coloured persons, in 1765, by fourteen; in 1790, by twenty-one; in 1800, by thirty-three; in 1810 by forty-seven; in 1820, by forty-eight; in 1830, by fifty-one; and in 1840, by eighty-one.

It is proper to observe in relation to the statistics for 1840, that they are not of sufficient accuracy to afford fair data for comparison, owing to the many blunders which were made in taking the census for that year, especially in the city of Boston. The work now before us shows several inconsistencies in the census, from which the conclusion is drawn, that the number of blacks in 1840 was over estimated. Dr. Chickering estimates the increase of blacks from 1830 to 1840, at 13.01 per cent., which is 7.57 *less* than that of the whites.

The coloured population never formed but a very small part of the whole population of Massachusetts, and their proportion to the whites has been reduced nearly one-half since 1765, and is likely to be reduced much more hereafter. Some have doubted whether their natural increase has equalled the number of those who have died and who have emigrated out of the State; and some have even supposed that without immigration, and without mixture with the whites, the whole race would in a few years, be extinct in this Commonwealth. Certain it is, that without immigration, their increase would have been very small.

It may be interesting, in connection with this subject, to see the proportion of the blacks to the whites in our sister State, New-York, in 1840. The number of coloured persons was 50,031, whites 2,378,890. The proportion of the coloured to the whites in that State was as 1 to 47.55, or nearly twice as great as it was in Massachusetts.

THE PRESIDENCY.

A discussion is going on in the Boston Courier as to the fitness of Gen. Taylor for the Presidency. We copy a few paragraphs:

* * * * * *

But one of the greatest objections to the nomination we have referred to, is that General Taylor is a slaveholder, if we have been rightfully informed. At any rate, he belongs to a slaveholding State, and his sympathies are doubtless attracted to and harmonize with the interests of the peculiar institution that has been the cause of all our trouble since the foundation of the Government. We have no doubt that the southern wing of the so-called Whig party would be glad to have General Taylor nominated in convention; doubtless they are already pleased with the enthusiasm that prevails in his behalf. The prospect that has seemed lowering so recently, has begun to clear up and look more brightly; there is a chance yet to blind the eyes of the North, and make them still once again the allies of Slavery; there is hope of quieting their indignation against the grasping tendencies of the peculiar institution, that have been so manifestly revealed within the last three years, and allowing it still to assume the reins of government, and to do as it has done with the resources and industry and honour of the nation. We earnestly hope that these expectations of Slavery are not to be gratified; that the brilliancy of the victories in Mexico, nor anything else, will cause us to forget the past, or overlook the future, in our zeal to overturn a bad administration. The free States have it in their power to elect the next President, if they are determined and willing to do so, without the aid of a single vote from beyond their own limits. In spite of Texas and Florida, they have a clear majority in the electoral college; now, then, is the time for them to be active in regaining the ascendancy they have so long suffered to be wrested from them by the superior tactics of Slavery. If the opportunity is suffered to escape now, it may never return again, for there is no probability that Slavery will omit to strengthen its dominion by every means that hereafter may be afforded.

Already have the party leaders at the South sounded the alarm, and they will not cease to labour until their end is accomplished. "There are no traitors at the South!" all are united in solid phalanx against liberty, human rights, and the rewards of faithful industry. Do we need to be told of these things, when it is matter of history that the Presidential election, ever since the establishment of our Constitution, with but few exceptions, has been only a game in which Slavery has always won, tossing the officers and emoluments of the Government about among Southern politicians, as if in sport, still keeping the control of the game in its own hands? Do we need to be told of it, when we are called upon to fight the battles of Slavery in Texas and Mexico, only that free labour may become more and more embarrassed, and the last hope of self-government may vanish entirely from our hearts, as we see new States, with slave Constitutions, admitted into the Union?

Away, then, with this nonsense about a nation's gratitude being due to General Taylor; away with the artful plea of availability, by which so many seem about to be persuaded out of their good sense and reason, and yield themselves once more the willing tools of Slavery. There is no cause for haste in this matter; more than eighteen months must elapse before we shall be called upon to give in our votes for electors; there is time enough to select a candidate. And when he is selected, let him be one whose acts we can approve, whose principles we know to be trustworthy; one who will not be the tool of a few demagogues, but embodying in himself the spirit of our free institutions, will be such a President as we shall delight to honour with a nation's gratitude, one whose ambition will help to bring back the country to that position of honesty and right, of justice and prosperity and peace, from which it has so long departed, merely to build up a faction, and gratify the pride of oppression.

To this another correspondent replies:

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But Gen. Taylor is a slaveholder. And he cannot be supported, because, to vote for a slaveholder is to sanction Slavery. This reasoning will not answer. The principle on which it rests goes too far. If acted upon throughout it would lead to inextricable confusion in human affairs. The thing itself is a concise averment of the doctrine of disunion. We do not oppose it as such, but if disunion is the object sought, it is better to put it in front, rather than to draw it in the rear. So long as we wish to act together as a Union, or a Confederacy, no considerate man will adopt the doctrine. The Abolitionists, who openly avow their desire to dissolve the Union, are the only men who can reasonably decline to vote for a man because he is a slaveholder. They believe the time has come when the Union ought to be dissolved, and are ready to act up to their convictions. Thinking people, generally, who have considered the subject, are of an opposite opinion. The great mass of the people, Whig and Democrat, would vote against disunion, if the question were presented to them. And whatever may hereafter take place, the present generation are likely to remain, very unanimously, of this way of thinking.

We entertain the belief that the abolition question is fast culminating in this country. It has been fed by a short-sighted opposition to the spread of the *sentiment* of abolition, in the free States. This opposition is fast dissipating; political reasons have conspired cogently to this result, within a few years; and the moment abolition sentiment has uninterrupted sway in the free States, and is allowed free and unprejudiced access to all hearts, that moment abolition has done its whole work in this country, a work, however, entirely different from the emancipation of the African race; and a work which will not aid that liberation in any other way than by exhibiting in the free States, a living acknowledgement of the right of that race to free themselves, whenever they are able to do so.

We therefore set aside all opposition to Gen. Taylor on the ground of his being a slaveholder, as an opposition which, though honestly set up, will avail nothing. It never has availed anything, and while the sentiment of disunion is as weak as it now is, never will avail anything. While desiring the extinction of Slavery, and adhering to the doctrines of the Wilmot proviso, we yet see nothing in the fact of Gen. Taylor's being a slaveholder, which opposes his nomination. Viewing the question in the light of those great and elevated principles, which lie at the bottom of our Union, no man can see anything. It is only when they are lost sight of, or obscured by the interposition of other and opposing doctrines, that the fact can be regarded as a hindrance.

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Upon this, the editor makes some comments in his usual, straightforward, and clear manner. Of course we give only such portions of any of the articles as refer to the question of Slavery:

"NEW-YORK CORRESPONDENT."—We hope that no reader of this paper will suppose for a moment that the editor approved the sentiments contained in the communication on Saturday, signed "New-York Correspondent." The views which we have repeatedly given currency in our own language, and especially those under the signature of "New-England," in the Courier of Thursday last—views which we maintain to be correct, and which received our entire approbation,—we trust are quite sufficient to satisfy those who feel any interest in knowing our opinions upon the Mexican war, the progress of the slave-power, and the nomination of General Taylor to the Presidency of the United States, that we have no sympathy with the advocates of these measures, and look with no favour upon any of the apologies that are put forth for such atrocious offences against humanity. Had the article signed "New-York Correspondent," been submitted to our inspection, it would not have gained admission without the accompaniment of a disclaimer of all participation in its pernicious doctrines.

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"New England" has replied to the "New-York Correspondent," and we copy a portion of his article. The discussion is valuable, as showing the readiness with which issue will be joined by two parties at the North, in the event of Gen. Taylor's nomination. The very fact that called out "New-York Correspondent," should have taught him that abolitionism is just beginning its work:

But it is said, if, in the coming Presidential election, we are determined not to have a slaveholder, or one who sympathizes with the "peculiar institution," for a candidate, we assume a position at once novel and dangerous. Novel, because all the Presidents, from Washington to the present time, with but two, or at most, three exceptions, have been slaveholders;—and dangerous, because it will be equivalent to disunion; for the South will never submit to an election conducted on such a principle. A writer in this paper, with the signature of "New-York Correspondent," is the author of this most wonderful array of argument against any opposition to General Taylor, on the ground of Slavery. We have no desire to enter into any controversy with him, but he stands as a representative of a class amongst us, that hold to similar notions, and them we would seek, if possible, to influence.

It is true that our Presidents have nearly all been nurtured in the school of Slavery. It was to the compromising disposition of the free States, the willingness of the North to forego the possession of office, and its attendant honours, to submit to some privation, and to wait a gradual enlightenment of public opinion that should cause the slave system to be abolished, that such men were permitted to exercise the functions of the Government. Some of them were anxious to remove the system from amongst us, and publicly deprecated its continuance. But in the progress of the nation, a different class of men have come before the country;—men possessing no enlarged view of the destiny of this people, having no exalted ambition for its honourable rank in the history of the world, caring nothing for the prosperity of all parts of the land; but narrow, bigoted politicians, to whom self-aggrandizement is the great ambition, and in whose eyes the section of territory, which they inhabit, is the only portion to be cultured, and invested with privileges. In their estimation, they are the country and the people, having a right to assume the whole power of the Government, and appropriate all its resources.

Under such circumstances, our relation to Slavery and slaveholders is entirely changed; and though it be novel that any should oppose the nomination of a slaveholder to the Chief Magistracy, we do it unqualifiedly, because of the very fact that he is such, and consequently, by whatever other name he may be called, whether Whig or Democrat, we denounce his nomination as not only unwise, but an insult to the free States, and the age in which we live. We are thoroughly prepared to have the lines distinctly and unequivocally drawn in the coming contest, between the North and the South; to have Freedom and Slavery arrayed for once, openly in the field, against each other. We are in favour of no more compromises; if Southern Whigs refuse to unite with the Whigs of the free States, in elevating a non-slaveholder to the office of President, we are prepared to stand alone, and enter into the contest without them. We can do without them. *The free States can elect a President from among themselves if they choose to do so; there is no necessity for asking a single vote from beyond their own borders.* We believe the time is come when the North should insist upon its rights, and upon the rights of humanity, and no longer bow the knee to Southern dictation, even to save the Whig party from ruin. If that party has not principle enough to come off successful in such a contest as we have indicated, let it be dissolved; let its leaders go into retirement—they are not for this age, it does not need their services.

We are continually told, however, that if we refuse to select as a candidate for the Presidency a slaveholder, or one attached to the portion of the country where Slavery exists, we endanger the permanency of the Union. This is the great bugbear that demagogues have set up to frighten the timid and the weak into obedience to their dictation; it is a cry that slaveholders have been very willing to hear raised in different parts of the land, but, like the cry of wayward children, when crossed in any of their wishes, it amounts to nothing at all. It is mere stuff. The South has been accustomed to have its own way, almost unmolested, until recently, and is unwilling to give up what it has unjustly acquired, and treat the other portions of the Union with becoming respect; but we have no fears that a disunion will arise from any proper measures the free States may use to recover their ascendancy in the councils of the nation. For who will dissolve the Union? Not the South, most assuredly; the people of that region know too well the sources of their present security, of the security of their homes and all they hold dear, and of the sources of their prosperity, what little they do enjoy, seriously to think of withdrawing from their alliance with the North. A little reflection will teach those, who do not already see it, that without such an alliance, not only the days of Slavery will be shortly consummated, but the capacity of those States to maintain themselves in independence and prosperity will be speedily exhausted. They are utterly unable to take care of themselves, and in a separate condition, with the sentiment of the whole world against them, there is little probability that they could long maintain their standing as a distinct people. The elements of which they composed are in nowise congenial to security of life, property, liberty and success, while suffered to mingle together and work their influence unmodified by those restraining forces, that are now operating upon them by means of their connection with the free States. * * * * *

Communications.

THE WESLEYAN CHURCH.

HINSDALE, April 18th, 1847.

DEAR SIR: The following communication was originally written for the True Wesleyan, but the editor of that paper, for reasons best known to himself, declined publishing it. I send it to you, submitting its publication in the Standard to the exercise of your good judgment as to whether good will result therefrom. By the way, does the editor of the True Wesleyan shrink from a defence of the Anti-Slavery character of the Church that supports the Federal Constitution?

E. F. CURTIS.

For the True Wesleyan.

DEAR BROTHER LEE: Will you open the columns of the Wesleyan to the following suggestions, which I wish to lay before your readers:

I have long looked upon American Slavery as the greatest enormity known and practiced among men. I could see no reason why a nation professing to be "free," should reduce to the veriest condition of Slavery *one-sixth* of all her people. I could see but little that savoured of Christianity in the course pursued by Reverends and Doctors of Divinity, inculcating as the duty of all, "therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them," and then assay to reconcile the enormity of Slavery with this the "Gospel rule." Connection with a church that might put forth such sentiments, "disclaiming any right, wish, or intention, to interfere with the civil and political relation of master and slave as it exists in the slaveholding States of this Union"—whose ministers as well as laity might, in perfect keeping with the discipline, hold slaves, provided the "laws of the State in which they live" are unfriendly towards the emancipated slave, (and which laws *they* contributed to make,) I could not reconcile with my duty to my fellow-men. I therefore left that church—I seceded as in duty bound. Regarding slaveholding as *theft*, and, as a matter of course, all participation in, or countenance extended towards it, as correspondingly sinful, I looked around if happily I might find a church entirely disconnected from all support of Slavery, with which I might be connected. The Wesleyan Church was presented to me as such an one. I looked at its position, and, while I rejoice for the advance ground it occupies over most other churches, yet I find it not such as that I feel warrantable in connecting myself with it. Slavery is entirely irreconcilable with every natural, as well as moral law, and exists only by brute force. In violation of moral law, the slave code forbids to the slave the privilege of reading the Word of God—the name of the God who made him; and that prohibition is carried into effect because the dominant party, the leading influence, says it shall be so: and in violation of natural law, they are reduced to the condition of "chattels personal," and, as such, driven to unrequited soil, or sold with swine in the market for the same reason. It becomes us to institute the inquiry, why this state of things exists among us? Does it stand to reason that, aside from the support given to slaveholding by the nominally free States of the North, Slavery could long exist among us? Could that "knot of slaveholders"—by idleness and luxury rendered weak and inefficient, and entirely unable to endure the fatigues of the camp, contend against such fearful odds as the mass of the slave population, who, goaded on by the prospect of LIBERTY, would call into requisition their unprecedented capabilities for enduring fatigue and suffering rather than stop short of the desired end. Aye, vitally interested indeed are the slaveholding States in the preservation of the Union. Though the South had, previous thereto, raised the cry of "dissolution,"

whenever Southern interest was in jeopardy, yet, on the introduction into Congress, by J. Q. Adams, of a petition asking for a dissolution of the Union, the South came out and made the true admission that they, more than any other section of the country, were interested in the preservation of the Union—that, "to the North mainly were they indebted for the security of their property in slaves." What! Is the American Union the very basis of Slavery, and, as Anti-Slavery men, are we voluntarily continuing that Union? Is it in violation of our obligation to "love our neighbour as ourselves," to *heathenize* one-sixth of them? and are we voluntarily doing it? I cannot see that he is doing otherwise who voluntarily supports the American Union. This he does by supporting the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution is the basis of the American Union. Let us look for a moment at that instrument, to support which we take a solemn oath every time we deposit a ballot for the election of a civil officer. This is apparent, as the individual elected by us must take such an oath before he is recognized in his official character; and what we do through an agent we do ourselves. You take an oath to support a Constitution which agreed to recognize, as a legitimate branch of commerce, the African Slave-Trade till the year 1808, and then left it optional with Congress to prohibit or continue it as they thought proper; and *to-day* Congress has the constitutional power to legalize that diabolical traffic; nor is it more unreasonable to suppose that they may yet do so, than it was, a few years since, to suppose that the General Government would ever engage in the measures that they are now prosecuting for the extension of Slavery.

It is for the interest of the slaveholder to increase his strength and influence in the General Government. You swear, then, to support a Constitution that offers all the inducements to slaveholding, connected with saying to the slaveholder, "increase the number of your slaves by five, and you shall be of equal strength in Congress, with four freemen of the North." You give your oath to the slaveholder that you will "deliver up any person held to service or labour in any State, under the laws thereof, on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due," though the Bible says, "thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."

You give your oath that, should the three millions of slaves, in imitation of the three millions of the fathers of '76, whom you justify, and whose eulogy you love to pronounce, appeal to arms for a redress of grievances, you will, if need be, shoulder your musket and fight for the suppression of "domestic violence." You swear to "repel invasion," though that invasion be headed by young Lafayette, for the identical purpose of giving liberty to three millions of oppressed Americans, in imitation of his noble father, whom we denominate as the greatest of patriots.

What avails the plea, as raised by some, that "the Constitution is an Anti-Slavery document?" Am I saying too much to say that it secures for those who raise it, a character for dishonesty? Paley says, "a promise is binding in the sense in which you know the other understood it at the time of making it." We know that the South (yes, and North too) understood the Constitution as above, at the time of its adoption. Nor is the plea more availing that we design to use our influence to amend the Constitution. We swear to support it *as it is*, till amended; and its alteration, in any point, effecting Slavery, is morally impossible, as three-fourths of the States would never concur in such amendments. In time of peace, a standing army is maintained, composed of the men, and paid with the money, of the North, for no earthly use but that of acting as the watch-dogs of Slavery. But is this all that, as a consequence of our constitutional connection with the South, we are doing for the extension of Slavery? So far from it, we find ourselves in the midst of a war, which, for depth of wickedness, may well challenge a comparison with any in the annals of history. *An aggressive war on a neighbouring Republic, for the acquisition of territory, over which to extend the curse of Slavery!!* What more need be said.

If, my brother, you can reconcile the position of the Wesleyan Church, with true Anti-Slavery, in view of the above difficulties, contributing in no way to the support of Slavery, I shall be most happy, as removing, at least my leading objections, to offering my humble self as a member of that Church.

Very respectfully, yours,

E. F. CURTIS.

HINSDALE, Mass. March 3, 1847.

The Church Question among American Abolitionists, &c.

MR. EDITOR:—Your paper of March 11th, contains an account of the discussions at the "Cazenovia Anti-Slavery Convention," to which I have given some attention. I was glad to see that the Church question was discussed, and that the chief speakers, both of the "Old Organization" and the Liberty party, took the ground that Abolitionists ought not to remain in the churches that are "the bulwarks of American Slavery." I was particularly gratified to see that sentiment disseminated in the *Standard*, (as recently it has been,) for reasons which will appear as I proceed. The allusion made to *my* name, by one of the speakers, E. D. Hudson, might have made it proper for me to take some notice of the representation which it contained, but I should not, probably, have taken pains to make the corrections I intend to make, had it not been for some recent incidents connected with this subject.

A friend in Ireland, some months ago, apprised me of the efforts of some members of your society, to make the impression there, and in Great Britain, that *your* society embraced all, or nearly all, of the true Abolitionists in America, particularly of those who are true on the *Church* question. How well those efforts must have succeeded, in some quarters, will appear from a printed letter of the Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society, to the Belfast Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association, a copy of which was forwarded to me. The letter remonstrates with the Belfast Society for having spoken in commendation of both the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Liberty party. It says: "The Church, the clergy, and the Constitution of the United States, are *all* pro-slavery, therefore, they cannot be of God, and, with *Mr. Garrison*, we unite in declaring, that the sooner they are annihilated the better." "*The Liberty party* claim to themselves the right of sustaining these *churches*, and declare, unblushingly, their determination to uphold the Constitution." The statement goes on to say that if a "Liberty" man should be elected to office, "he lifts up his hands and *swears*, by God, that he will sustain *those laws*, and *one* of those laws is, *to restore fugitives to their masters*"!!!

If any one should think it incredible that any accredited member of your society should have made such representations in Europe, as could have given rise to such statements, his incredulity, I think, might be removed, by a reference to the report you have published, of the speeches at the Cazenovia Convention. I seldom trouble myself with the similar statements I hear in *this* country, where the facts are understood, and where they *come out*, on the spot, as they did in the Cazenovia Convention, revealing the truth that the "Old Organization," even where the *Church* question is concerned, is "as deep in the mud, as 'the Liberty party' is in the mire." But I confess that letter roused me to the duty of responding to the call made upon me, from Ireland, to furnish such information as should exhibit the true state of the case. This I have already done. But, lest my silence on *this* side of the water, concerning such statements as were made at Cazenovia, should be construed, *abroad*, into an unwillingness to meet the question *here*, I must ask your insertion, as coming from me, of what I consider a fair statement of the case.

First and foremost, let me say that I sustain no relations to the "New Organization," [the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,] to which I never belonged, nor to the Liberty party, from whose policy, recently, in many respects, I strongly dissent, which should blind me to their defects, nor am I conscious of any such hostility to *your* society as should tempt me to do it injustice. Without arrogance, may I not claim, that few American Abolitionists, who have been as constantly and as actively engaged as I have been, in the conflict against Slavery, from the beginning of the present agitation, and *before* it, (as far back as the "Missouri Compromise," of 1820,) stand in a better position to review, impartially, the whole ground?

I blame no Abolitionist, of any society, for remonstrating earnestly with those members of the Liberty party who continue connected with pro-slavery churches. Produce one man, if you can, that has done more of this labour than myself. Blame me not, while, with due impartiality, I extend the same remonstrances to those in your "Old Organization," who are doing the same thing. And since "the Liberty party"—*as such*—is expected to bear the sins of its delinquent members, allow me to show how an application of the same principle would affect the old American Anti-Slavery Society.

At the first commencement of the present agitation, at the time when the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and for a long time afterwards, no Abolitionist expected that his fidelity to the slave would require of him the sacrifice, either of his political or ecclesiastical connections. We took it for granted that our favourite parties and sects, at least the northern portions of them, would "come up right" on the subject, as soon as they obtained correct information. Our subtile opponents seem, however, to have understood the matter much better than ourselves. They better knew the settled sympathy and close connection between the leaders of these parties and sects, and the slave-power. Long time in advance of any attacks on *our* part, upon either Church, clergy, or political party, they charged us with infidelity to the Church and treason to the State. They represented us as ambitious and selfish men, intent, *not* so much upon the liberation of the slaves, as the advancement of some other object, and the elevation of ourselves, at the head of some new party or sect. This drew forth those various disclaimers, (church-wise and party-wise,) of any such intention, on our part, to meddle with the parties and the sects, a portion of which is sometimes cited, now-a-days, by "Old Organizationists," to prove the unfaithfulness of the Liberty party to those early pledges of Abolitionists, in this matter. Whatever of binding force those pledges may have had, they bound us, in *principle*, and sometimes in *express words*, as closely to our *churches*, as they did to our *parties*.

But, in process of time, it became apparent to some minds, that the sects and the parties were indissolubly bound to the car of Slavery. Some made this discovery soonest in respect to the political *party* to which they belonged; and some first made it in respect to their local *church*, or perhaps, their entire *sect*. It was not strange that many religious men should lose confidence in their political *party* while they still clung to the cherished hope, however delusive, that better influences would *ultimately* prevail in the Church. One ground of this hope, in some sects, was the sort of independency which they attributed to their particular local church. Misled by this *nominal* independency, some supposed their responsibilities discharged, when, as in some cases, the local church took Anti-Slavery ground, or seemed to do so, forgetful of the almost invisible, yet really effective ecclesiastical ties that bound them to the entire sect. This complexity of ecclesiastical arrangements confused, and still confuses, many, who do not seem to perceive the full extent of their church connections, and corresponding responsibility. The multiplicity of the sects, the high Anti-Slavery reputation and professions of some of them, (particularly the two Quaker sects,) was a still further source—and still is—of perplexity, hesitancy, miscalculation, mistake, and entanglement. Sad comment upon the ecclesiastical polity of our times. In the political world, organizations were less complex, and better understood. Instead of innumerable sects, there were only two political parties, and both of them understood to be national, including both North and South. Here, there was less chance to dodge, and the extent of personal responsibility was better understood. The *party* in given locations, might indeed make Anti-Slavery professions, but it was easy to see, in this case, that local action was swallowed up in the pro-slavery national body. Add to this that all men understood their connection with the political party to be a voluntary affair, terminable at their own pleasure. Except among leading men, an exchange of parties led to no excommunication, and was followed with no disgrace. In most, or all of the sects, the dogma, either express or implied, that secession from the sect was apostacy from Christianity, had poisoned the consciences and bound the hands of the members. I mention these things, not to *excuse*, but only to *account for* the fact, that many men who did not *intend* to be untrue, continued to adhere to the pro-slavery Church, after having left the pro-slavery party. They failed to see, as they ought, that religion lies at the basis of morality, and should give moral law to the political action; and that it is absurd to expect the political party to go in advance of the religion of the country. The current notions, that religion must not interfere with politics, that religion and morality "must not be dragged down into such muddy waters"—that moral suasion and political action are antipodes, (notions sometimes countenanced even in your "Old Organization," as well as in the degenerate churches,) have all helped to perpetuate the delusion. To expose and counteract them, not a few leading Liberty party men have done what they could, and what four men in the nation have done more in this direction, than James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, Alvan Stewart, and Beriah Green? I say nothing of myself.

The natural history and geographical birthplace of the Liberty party, are indicated by the preceding remarks. In central and Western New-York the ideas of both political and ecclesiastical secession and re-organization had their origin in the same minds, and at nearly the same time. A number of local church secessions and re-organizations of Anti-Slavery, independent churches were about simultaneous with, or prior to, the organization of the Liberty party, and were composed of the same men. President Green was amongthe earliest of these, and was pastor of the little independent secession church at Whitesborough, some years previous to the period of *political* "come-out-ism." "Anti-Slavery conference and prayer-meetings" in that region, sprang up about the same time, were held during a day and evening, were composed of Abolitionists connected with churches, from a number of adjacent towns, and were occupied chiefly with the consideration of their church relations. A considerable number of Anti-Slavery secession churches in that county, (Oneida,) and vicinity, is the result.

At a morning prayer-meeting of Abolitionists during the Convention at Albany, in the summer of 1839, (a Convention that took ground, after much debate, in favour of those high *political* tests that, as was foreseen, resulted in the Liberty party,) the measure was agitated, of calling a series of large Conventions for the purpose of discussing the *Church* question. The measure was proposed by myself, was warmly seconded by "Father Shaw," from Vermont, and others who, then and afterwards, favoured separate political nominations. I have no recollection that any *others* than such, favoured the measure. It was not natural that they should. Everywhere in this State, the ideas of political and ecclesiastical secessions were identified in the public mind. The one was understood to be upon the same principle with the other, that is, in cases where the churches, like the political parties, could not be abolitionized. The timid shrunk back. The resolute went forward. It was objected against a separate political party, that it would excite the prejudices of ministers and churches—that by carrying the question thus recklessly and uncompromisingly into *politics*, we should have less favour from *ministers*—that they would be less ready to read our notices and attend our Conventions, lest they should soil their ecclesiastical robes by contact with political life—lest they should mingle religion with politics. The files of the Liberator, and especially of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, will show with what portion of Abolitionists those objections were current, up to the *second* revolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in May, 1844. The years 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843, memorable for the organization and early struggles of the Liberty party, were equally so, for the assembling of a large number of spirited and numerously attended religious Anti-Slavery Conventions in Central and Western New-York, composed of Anti-Slavery members of different sects, and almost or quite exclusively, members of the Liberty party, (though the invitations were general,) except in the case of some opposers of the Liberty party movements, who came into these Conventions, to oppose the introduction of the test, there, also. Such Abolitionists as Rev. Dr. Beman, Mr. Kirk, &c. who either sneered at our Liberty party or stood aloof from it, never came into our religious Anti-Slavery Conventions. At Auburn, at Penn Yan, at Syracuse, at Clinton, we had great gatherings, at which the question was debated, "Shall the slave question be made a test question in the Churches? It was my privilege to attend these meetings, in company with such men as J. G. Birney, Beriah Green, Alvan Stewart, W. L. Chaplin, and sometimes Gerrit Smith, with other Liberty men of less note. The earnest advocacy of the affirmative of the above question by Birney and Green, at Penn Yan will not soon be forgotten. I have no recollection that any Liberty men took the *negative* of the question, or that any Abolitionist *other* than a Liberty man took the *affirmative*. I have also attended some scores of smaller Conventions of the same character, of which the same remark might be made. I am almost constantly receiving accounts of such Conventions, and am frequently attending them. They are open to all Abolitionists, but few except Liberty men ever attend them. The same is true of a number of *Missionary* Anti-Slavery Conventions, at all of which Liberty men have been the efficient members, seldom finding many others in attendance. This was the case at the Syracuse Missionary Convention, at which A. A. Phelps presented his able document against the course of the American Board, and also at the Convention at Albany, last September, at which a new Anti-Slavery Missionary Society was organized. I recollect none but Liberty men taking a part in those Conventions. In 1843 I commenced the "Christian Investigator," designed mainly to urge Abolitionists connected with churches, to abolitionize their churches, or secede from them. The great majority, probably seven-eighths, of its supporters are Liberty men, in nearly all the free States in the Union. I am in occasional correspondence with hundreds of the most earnest labourers in the work of Anti-Slavery Church reform in different States, and know the most of them to be Liberty men. We have some scores, if not hundreds, of Independent Anti-Slavery churches, formed by secession, in this single State of New-York, almost, if not exclusively, composed of Liberty men, to say nothing of some in other States. I know, personally, a very considerable number of *ministers* who have taken the ground of secession—many who have been driven from their old churches for their fidelity—some have given up preaching because they cannot conscientiously retain their pro-slavery connections—(a son of J. G. Birney among the number,) and resorted to secular avocations. Others preach and sustain themselves by manual labour. I am hearing of new instances almost weekly. And these, so far as I know, are all Liberty men, (except perhaps two or three, of whom I have heard, but am not acquainted with.) I can recall the names of quite a number of Abolitionists—ministers—with whom I was acquainted before the division in our ranks, who go with the old organization, and repudiate the Liberty party; not one of them has either been driven from his pro-slavery sect, or has taken himself out of it.* I am told there are a few such, but so far as I know they are taking no measures to organize Anti-Slavery churches. And I have yet to hear of the first Anti-Slavery Church gathered, by secession or otherwise by "Old Organizationists," or those who repudiate the Liberty party, unless I am to reckon some of the Wesleyans. The principal men, I believe, in the Wesleyan secession, belong to the Liberty party. That secession is not as thorough as, in my view, it should be, having no regulation for excluding those who vote for pro-slavery candidates. In this it agrees with the American Anti-Slavery Society; and in strict consistency with this, some of its members, if I am rightly informed, continue to recognize the Christian character of the old Church from which they seceded. In these respects they differ from the Independent churches, as I have mentioned. Those Presbyterians, in the far West, who are organizing an Anti-Slavery Presbyterian Church, are, I think, mostly Liberty party men. And those in the Baptist sect, who will support no pro-slavery ministers, and who have organized an Anti-Slavery Missionary Association, are chiefly, I think, Liberty party men. There *may* be exceptions to these general statements, of which I am not aware. That portion of Abolitionists still remaining in pro-slavery churches, who are most active and troublesome, as Abolitionists, there, in the hope of producing a change, are usually, Liberty party men. The controversy with the American Board, &c. is chiefly conducted by them.

This is the bright side of the picture, so far as the Liberty party is concerned. But there is a dark side. The majority of Liberty men who sustain any churches, are, nevertheless, members or supporters of churches that deserve the name of pro-slavery. And this is paralyzing their strength. It is a load the Liberty party must shake off speedily, or sink under it. The pro-slavery churches and ministers are among the bitterest enemies, and altogether the most powerful, with which the Liberty party has to contend, resorting alternately, to seductive sophistries, and ecclesiastical persecutions. The New-York Observer expresses the general sentiment among them, that the members of the Liberty party are the most dangerous sort of Abolitionists, to be treated with less tolerance than those of the Garrison party. Whenever such men as Beman, Colton, Taylor, Howe, Wisnor, &c. leaders among the pro-slavery ministers, take up their pens, or mount the rostrum or pulpit against "modern abolitionism," the Liberty party receives the greater share of their attention and vituperation. Liberty Conventions in this region are beginning to raise the flag of *no nominations* for members of pro-slavery churches. If the *party* cannot be induced to take this ground, there will be still *another* political organization that will.

The members of your "Old Organization" in Massachusetts, very early raised the complaint that the Liberty party was resorted to as a means of turning off attention from the pro-slavery churches, and also to favour the "New Organization" in opposition to the "Old." The facts already stated have some bearing on the question of the justice of that complaint. The Liberty party originated in this State, with men who were foremost on the Church question, and some time *before* the division between "Old" and "New" Organization. It *may* be true, nevertheless, that influential individuals in Massachusetts, may have been influenced by the motives attributed to them, in their introduction of the Liberty party into that State, and other portions of New England. I confess the low state of the Church question in New England, and the backwardness of prominent Liberty men in respect to it, might seem to corroborate the charge. And yet we should be slow, I think, to charge upon them any deliberate intention of shielding the pro-slavery churches. In addition to the considerations already offered, it is known that many Abolitionists who have neither respect for, nor sympathy with pro-slavery churches and ministers, are impatient with what they think the unnecessary trouble of contending with them. Their policy has been to run over them quietly, with the public sentiment of the community in general, as expressed either at public conventions or at the ballot-box. Bring the people right, say they, and the churches will come right. They fail to realize the vast power of the Church over the people. There has been some of this feeling among a portion of Liberty men in this State, and still more, if I mistake not, in New England. I tell these men they ought never to complain of the Garrisonians for being "no Church men." If *their* theory be correct, the Church is of no more value than the fifth wheel to a coach. No man can pour greater contempt upon Church institutions than to think of substituting *mere* political action for them, in the work of overthrowing oppression. Whether any *other* Abolitionists are "no church men" or not, those Liberty men who would use the ballot-box for the abolition of Slavery, and let the pro-slavery churches alone, are in a fair way of becoming "no Church men," if they retain their common sense. If I read correctly, the leaven is already at work. A Liberty party retaining connection with pro-slavery churches is an anomaly that cannot last long. It must work itself out, in some way. Either the Anti-Slavery political party will be relinquished, or the pro-slavery Church. And if Anti-Slavery churches are not gathered, Abolitionists will be out of the Church, by necessity, if not otherwise. At the present moment, there are thousands of Liberty men who have seceded from their churches, either nominally or formally, who have entered into no Church relations, not because they would not desire it, if they could find others to join with them. Better be in *no* Church organization, in such a case, than to be in an anti-christian, a pro-slavery one. If *this* be the "*no Church*" heresy, let me bear the reproach rather than be one of those "no-church" men who either make the churches practically a thing of no value, or who deem a pro-slavery Church better than none! I will only add to this, that New-York State Liberty men, when they take up Liberty papers from other States, (except some at the West,)* find them sadly blank or defective, on the Church question—they hardly feel themselves at home in a New England Liberty Convention—(or Church Convention of Liberty men)—and a Liberty minister from my neighbourhood, removing into New England, writes me that he hardly knows how to find his *whereabouts* between the Liberty party and the "Old Organizationists," with neither of whom can he fully co-operate or sympathize.

(To be Continued.)

I remember one exception, O. S. Murray, who has openly renounced Christianity, having been led to think the Bible pro-slavery.

* The American Freeman, Prarieville, (Wiskonsan,) a Liberty party paper, has issued a series of very able editorials against nominating and voting for ministers of pro-slavery churches.

Truisms.

DEAR GAY:—I promised some time ago to write you a letter of "truisms," in support of some of the most fanatical declarations of the Abolitionists. I expressed the opinion, that so far from being the extravagant ebullitions of excited minds, they might be shown to be only the reasonable conclusions of sound argument, and the *only* true statements, because the only statements made in language adequate to the fact. Let me illustrate. The Abolitionist says that Slavery is the sum of all iniquity, a system for the wickedness of which, no language is too strong. This is one statement. The Southerner, and his more wicked Northern abettor, is careful not even to use the word Slavery if he can help it, but talks of the "peculiar domestic institution." Now, which of these statements is the lie? Why, surely the latter, for it is made in a lying spirit, that would cover up the iniquity by smooth words, and whiten the sepulchre that within is full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Now I affirm, that our seemingly most extravagant language is really only the truth stated in adequate terms, and that the "lie" is that language in which men can talk of Slavery, and not have its horrors and its iniquities brought fully to their minds.

My first proposition was, that the United States Government is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." (It may not be generally known that this is a quotation from Isaiah, not from Mr. Garrison.) One would think that it might be taken as conceded at the outset, after the many developments we have had of its rascality, that the Government of the United States is not of Divine ordaining, but is a merely human institution. Yet, I do not know but this is too much to take for granted. Are we not told that the war is certainly a bad one, but yet, now that the *Government* has entered into it, &c. &c.; as if the Government could make wrong right, or remove one atom of responsibility from the shoulders of individuals. And yet, I suppose, the strongest support the iniquity receives, comes from the vague idea that the sanction of Government in some way, palliates the enormity of a sin, and even renders its support a matter of duty. Hear the New England Puritan, the chief organ of the Orthodox sect in Massachusetts.—"But what shall Christians do in the case? *The war will not be brought to a close by bringing Christian influence into antagonism with any legal measures for prosecuting the war.* We are in the war by the acts of our Government, and we shall get out of it, if we ever do, by the acts of the Government, and none the sooner for any attempts to embarrass that action. *Our rulers have taken the responsibility of this plunge*, and we, in the exercise of a religious influence, are not called upon to justify or *resist* their action. As citizens, exercising the political franchise at the proper time, we, with the rest, must make our opinions felt touching such important measures. But now the simple question is, what can we do as Christians, to secure the favour of Providence and avert the storm.

"It is obvious to remark that the efficacy of *prayer* is great," &c. &c. &c.

Say not a word against the iniquitous doings—keep perfectly quiet while Mexicans are butchered, and Slavery is extending its blasting curse all over the Continent—do nothing to embarrass the action of Government. Do not the Abolitionists do so? "Christian influence is not to be brought into antagonism with *legal measures*"—but *pray!* This is the patent Christianity of the land. Who wonders that we are a nation of rascals? Pray—yes, we should pray, and for nothing more fervently, than to be delivered from such "Christians."

Some two or three years hence, when enough Mexicans have been murdered, perhaps we will put Mr. Polk out of office. But that seems doubtful. The Rev. Joel Parker, D. D. in the Christian Observer, has very great doubts whether, after all, the President is not right in this war of his. To be sure, he did not think much of him as Mr. Polk, but then he 's our "Chief Magistrate" now. "The approbation of the wise and good, and the estimate which future generations will form of his conduct, and the *admonitions of conscience furnish him strong inducements to do his duty with fearless independence*"—in short, the presumption is altogether in favour of this war being a very righteous and praiseworthy proceeding. If any one wants much more of this sort of Christianity, I refer him again to "The Church as it is."

I am uncharitable enough to believe that the greater part of the men who *preach* these doctrines, know better. If they do not, they are very unfit for the office they hold, and a great deal of intellectual culture has been spent on very barren brains. But I do not believe that many of their *hearers* know any better. Doubtless many of the poor fellows who were shipped off to be shot at, from Boston and New-York, really believed that they were doing a very patriotic act. Yet it is a proposition so self-evident, that it seems only to need statement, that Government cannot make wrong right, that a sin is no more to be committed after a President or a Congress has ordered it, than before. I shall not argue the point, because I do not know how to make it any plainer. I can only wish, in all charity, that those who can believe such a monstrous doctrine as the opposite, may never themselves be attacked and butchered in the name of patriotism and Christianity, by a horde of armed plunderers like our "patriotic" army.

But the principle I have just laid down, has other applications, and it is with these that I am chiefly concerned. Suppose that the delegates of a nation should come together to make for it a Government, and that the delegates from one portion, in return for certain commercial privileges, should grant to the other the right to come annually among their constituents, and shoot, stab, hang, or beat to death, every tenth man, woman, or child they should meet—do you think that these constituents would feel bound in any particular manner to observe such an agreement? Now, in what does that case differ from our own, except that ours is worse? For value, (*not* however, always received,) our representatives granted to another portion of the nation, unlimited power to maim, kill, torment, and destroy one-*sixth* part of the nation, to violate their women, to deprive their children of all which they had just declared to be the inalienable right of man. Should it make any difference to Christians, (I do not now mean New England Puritan "Christians,") that that sixth part did not happen to be ourselves? Should such a compact be for one moment recognized or acknowledged? What difference does it make that some provisions are good? If I make an agreement to do three things, to build a bridge, to give money to the poor, and to murder my neighbour, is it any excuse for doing the last act, that the other two are right? Would such a plea save me from hanging? Yet no voter in the land has any other.

It is not left optional with us to do the one, and leave undone the other. Every voter is *obliged* to swear, by his representative, not only to build the bridge, but to support with the whole political influence and military power of the country, the institution which consists in the robbery of all the rights of humanity, which *necessarily* involves murder, cruelty, licentiousness, and all the black catalogue of human crime. Are we not bound to tolerate Slavery in the South forever? Are we not bound to allow the whole North to be slave-hunting ground? Are we not bound, if they should rise and claim their rights as men, as we ourselves did, upon provocation not to be named in comparison, are we not bound by oath to put them down at the point of the bayonet? What is the Constitution? The Constitution *is* now that slaveholding compromise which our fathers in their weakness allowed admission into it. But even under the best of circumstances, is such a Constitution to be supported? Can we, on any terms, swear to rob and murder our neighbour?

What, then, shall we do? Continue to support the Government, making the best you can of it until you can alter it, says the half-way man. Of two evils, choose the least. Of two slaveholding Presidents, *try* to chose the best, till such time as you can choose a non-slaveholder. When will that time come, judging from past experience of the system? With the Greek Kalends, the 30th February, the day after never. But waiving that argument for the present, is this choosing-between-two-evils doctrine, a sound one? Mr. Clay, you say, would not have annexed Texas, and therefore we ought to have voted for him. I do not admit the premises. Mr. Clay has shown a strong desire to "shoot a Mexican"; his impious wish has met with swift punishment. But admitting for the sake of argument, what seems to me only absurd, that Texas would not have been annexed if Mr. Clay had been elected—is it true that it is our *duty* to choose between a Mr. Polk, who will enslave and brutalize ten human beings, and Mr. Clay, who will enslave and brutalize only five? I say, *No.* Of two *evils* choose the least, of two *sins*, choose *neither*, and the voluntary choosing of a man to swear, in your name, to support robbery, murder, adultery, and all manner of wickedness, *is a sin*, and the responsibility shall rest on your shoulders. Come out from all voluntary support of a Government *founded* upon sin; submit, as you would to a highway robber, if it plunders you by taxation, for its iniquitous purposes, but give it the support of no voluntary act. What if there is a shade of difference between the iniquities of a President Polk and a President Clay—which I do not allow—it is not for me to choose between them, that responsibility rests not with me. Let good men withdraw their support from both, and both will fall together, and their iniquitous system with them.

But, says my legal friend, who thinks that all laws originate in such dry brains as his, and have authority because Congresses adopt them, if we admit this right of private judgment of the laws, we shall have anarchy and confusion. Where will be the authority of Government and the laws? A righteous Government will be where it always has been, founded on the rock of Truth, and will have her authority. Law will be what it ever was, in the sublime words of old Hooker, "the harmony of the world, its home the bosom of God." Men did not make it, men cannot unmake it. Give to every man in the land, the right which indeed cannot be given, for he possesses it from God, to judge any law and every institution, and no righteous law will lose its authority. If a man commits a murder, and defends himself by saying that he has conscientious objections to the law against murder, do we not hand him over to the physician,—and what institution is disturbed by it?

But it is said this is a question of expediency, and your course will lead to anarchy and civil war. I deny that it is a question of expediency; it is a question of *duty*, and the consequences are with God. But this bugbear of civil war, what is it? Mr. Calhoun expatiates upon "wide-spread disaster," the cotton Whigs of the North take up the cry, and Mr. Webster, as in duty bound, re-echoes it in Faneuil Hall. Our fathers, with their three-penny tax on tea, were not afraid of civil war; but if we are, I ask, who is to make it? Is it the poor two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders? They could not meet an equal number of their slaves, to say nothing of the other two millions and a-half, and more. If, then, all the men of the so-called free States were quietly and peaceably to withdraw their support from this slaveholding Constitution, quietly and peaceably say, We will make another, whom would they have to be afraid of? Is it the slaves? May it not be considered now-a-days, as demonstrated, that it is not a peculiarity of human nature, black or white, to cut the throats of its benefactors? We should have the whole civilized world with us—ay, and the heathen world, too. Has not the Bey of Tunis been beforehand with us? Has not the Sultan of Turkey abolished the slave-marts of Constantinople, while Washington is still infamous in the eyes of the world?

This bugbear of civil war, anarchy, and confusion exists only in the minds of the slaveholders, who would fain conceal their weakness, by their blustering; of unprincipled Northern capitalists, who would keep all things quiet that their gain may not be interfered with; and of the poor gulls who work in the traces of both. It will utterly vanish when once the North shall do her duty.

But I have wandered from my argument, which is simply this, that the Constitution of the United States is not the work of God, but the work of sinful men, and because it makes a compromise to tolerate and support "the sum of all iniquities," therefore is it "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,"—that as the abettor of a crime is as guilty as the principal, and as the whole effective support of the slave system is in the North, therefore, that every voter who swears, by his representative, to support the system, is guilty of all the injustice, robbery, and crime, that the system involves. I wish, that if we are wrong in these positions, some one could be found able to prove us so.

The prophet denounced his countrymen for less crimes than we are guilty of. May we, by speedy repentance, avert the punishment he threatens.

"Because ye have said we have made a covenant with death and with hell, are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves.

"Therefore, thus saith the Lord God. Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place;

"And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it."

In another letter I will undertake to show wherein the American Church is a "Brotherhood of Thieves," and why the religion, falsely called Christian, is worse than Paganism or Mahometanism. A.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1847.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the TABERNACLE, BROADWAY, N. Y. on TUESDAY, the 11th day of MAY. The increasing interest in the Anti-Slavery cause promises an unusually large and important meeting.—The bold encroachments of the slave power upon the rights of the North, and the active measures of the slaveholders to extend and perpetuate the curse of human bondage, are awakening the people to a sense of their position both as oppressors and oppressed. All the activity and zeal of the friends of the slave are needed to arouse the country to the conviction that the only safety of the whole PEOPLE is in adopting the principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

The business meetings, which will continue in session from Tuesday noon to Thursday evening, will be held in the APOLLO SALOON, 410, Broadway.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, } Secretaries.
S. H. GAY, }

A New System of Slavery in the British West India Islands.

The grand mistake of British West India Emancipation was the payment of twenty millions sterling, as compensation to the planters for the loss of their slaves. It was a departure from principle for the sake of expediency, and like every violation of the immutable law of Justice, must at some time, and in some way, be followed by inevitable evil. Better would it have been had the British Abolitionists never yielded to the temptation, even though Slavery had existed a little longer. Emancipation should have been demanded as a right; not sued for as a favour. Everything should have been asked from conviction; nothing accepted as a compromise. The wrong of the slaveholder should have been constantly insisted upon; the right of the slave as constantly maintained. When the people, aroused to the injustice of Slavery, had forced upon the Government the necessity of action, they should not have rested from their labours when the masters were hired to strike the fetters from the limbs of the slave. Their work was but half completed. The eight hundred thousand of the degraded and suffering people of the colonies were *bought as slaves*. The right to freedom was not restored to them BECAUSE THEY WERE MEN. The essential element of a true and perfect emancipation was wanting. The master and the Government did not recognize the manhood of the negro; they only bargained that he should no longer be held in bondage, because in the existing state of the public mind such bondage had become inexpedient. The Abolitionists permitted themselves to be lulled into security by this partial, though hard-earned victory. But their opponents did not forget that the price of SLAVERY is eternal vigilance.

Had there been no compensation, there would have been no compromise. Had there been no compromise, we should have heard nothing of the failure of West India Emancipation. The power of Slavery would have been stricken to the earth, never to rise again, had the negro been disenthralled, not as a purchased *slave*, but as a MAN. Had the planter yielded to his own convictions, rather than to necessity, he would never have wished for a return of Slavery. Or had he yielded to a necessity of doing justice to his slave, from a conviction that the abhorrence of Slavery, on the part of the mother-country, was deep-rooted and unchangeable, he would never have hoped that that feeling would die out, and a system of bondage, in some modified form, would at a future day be quietly submitted to. Doubtless he has indulged this hope. He received the twenty millions as an earnest, not so much of the sincerity, as of the insincerity of the people of Great Britain. They condemned the system as inexpedient, rather than as wrong, by the payment of money, and he might reasonably hope that when the excitement of the times had died away, he might re-establish the old state of things under a new name if he quietly bided his time. Accordingly the discontented planter has complained that the experiment of emancipation was a failure, for he could make no sugar. He has refused to pay to a people willing and glad to work, living wages. He has imported Coolies from India, who were to be, to all intents and purposes, slaves for a term of years, not only for the advantage of their almost unrequited toil, but that he might also, by such competition, reduce the negroes to a condition akin to Slavery. The captured slaves from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and at St. Helena, have been brought to the West Indies, for the same purpose. And all this we firmly believe has been the result of the compromise made in the payment of compensation. Immediate and unconditional emancipation would have created at once a relation between the planter and the slave, from which the former would have understood that the latter were to be no longer the subject of his covetousness and tyranny, but were, in the eye of the nation and Government, his equal, and to be protected and treated as such.

We do not mean to be understood that the experiment of emancipation has been a failure. Far from it. The abolition of Slavery in any way is a blessing. Personal freedom under every possible disadvantage is infinitely better than Slavery in its best estate.

In spite of the error committed at the outset, and from which so many evils have resulted, the negroes of the British West India Islands, who have been for centuries degraded and miserable slaves, have become, in a few short years, a happy and contented peasantry. No effort, however, has been spared by the British Government and the planters to coerce the labour of this people, and to reduce them to a condition little better than that of servitude. Notwithstanding their willingness to work for wages, not more than twenty cents per day, it has been the constant aim of their former masters, assisted by the Government, to reduce even this small stipend, by a system of Immigration, while the immigrants themselves—consisting chiefly of men, a fact in itself productive of almost incalculable evil—have been subjected to great hardship and wrong. The importation of Coolies and re-captured Africans has nevertheless proved a failure, and a new plan has been hit upon by the British Government which is in fact little else than the re-establishment of the Slave-Trade, and a system of modified Slavery in the West Indies. We copy from the (London) Anti-Slavery Reporter of April 1st, the following letter to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, as explanatory of this plan:

DOWNING-STREET, 30th January, 1847.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by Earl Grey to acquaint you, that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has for some time been occupied by the question as to what means may best be adopted with the view of obtaining an additional supply of labourers for our West Indian colonies. The recent changes in our commercial policy render this object one of even greater importance than it had previously been felt to be, in consequence of the effect produced by the act of emancipation in so materially reducing the amount of labour at the command of the British planters. To meet this difficulty, several of the West Indian colonies have entered into arrangements to procure the requisite number of labourers from the East Indies. But the expense of doing so has

been found so heavy, that in all probability the emigration from our Asiatic possessions will be brought to a close. Similar attempts have been made to obtain labourers from our possessions in Africa, but they have been restricted to those possessions, and have proved unsuccessful, in consequence of the indisposition of the labouring population there resident to emigrate to the West Indies.

Lord Grey has therefore been induced to take into consideration the strong representations which have been made to him by gentlemen interested in the West Indies, in favour of resorting for this purpose to the Kroo coast. The evidence of witnesses entitled to credit seems to establish the fact, that this part of the African coast is free from any taint of slave-dealing, and also that the tribes by which it is inhabited are of an industrious disposition, and by no means unlikely to avail themselves of any facilities which may be afforded to them of proceeding to those of our colonies in which they would have the prospect of receiving high wages in return for their labour.

This being the case, Lord Grey has thought it right to recommend to his colleagues (who have approved of the proposal), that an experiment should be made as to the practicability of obtaining, with advantage, emigrants from this quarter for the West Indian colonies.

In order, however, to guard against abuse of any kind, it is not intended that such emigrants shall be permitted to be conveyed to the West Indies in any vessels except those in the service of Her Majesty, and under the superintendance and direction of officers appointed by Government.

It is, therefore, proposed, that a steamer belonging to the Royal Navy shall be fitted out, and employed upon this service, and shall proceed from Sierra Leone to the Kroo coast, and from thence alternately to the colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad, with such emigrants as may be procurable. These colonies being the nearest to the African coast, and having made provision for the payment of bounties upon emigration, it is considered advisable that, while the measure is only experimental, its operation should be restricted to them; but if it should prove successful, it may hereafter be extended to other colonies also.

The expense of this vessel will be provided for on the Naval Estimates, or by a distinct vote to be proposed to Parliament, but the governments of the two abovementioned colonies will be instructed, under the provisions of the existing Ordinances, to fix a bounty of £10 upon each emigrant so introduced; a sum which, it is computed, will, in case the plan shall succeed, and the vessel procure full complements, go far towards reimbursing the current expenses of the vessel. By the enclosed letter from the Admiralty, you will perceive that these are estimated at £14,217 per annum.

Such being the outline of the intended plan, I am desired by Lord Grey to request, that you will prepare a draft of the instructions which will be required for the officer in charge of the steamer; and also a scheme of the agency to be employed on shore in collecting emigrants; and that you will furnish a statement of the instructions which appear to you necessary, to place the Governor of Sierra Leone in possession of the views and intentions which have been communicated to you on the present subject.

I have, &c.,

[Signed] JAS. STEPHENS.

The Reporter also publishes the recommendations and directions for the employment of various agents to carry this scheme into effect. These persons, with their subagents, are to be stationed at various points on the coast, and are to receive a fixed salary for their services, and a bounty for every emigrant they may secure. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have issued an address to the Abolitionists of Great Britain, from which we make an extract:

It is, therefore, proposed under new arrangements, which, if they take effect, will leave the immigrants free men, only in name, to make the system of immigration more profitable than it has hitherto been, to those specially interested therein. This is intended to be effected by stringent laws, compelling immigrants, whether Coolies, or Africans, to engage in agricultural labour only, under the penalty of a poll-tax of 5s. per month, *payable in advance*, from month to month, to the Government; and subjecting them, conditionally, to vexatious stamp duties, and a heavy demand for passports, without which they will not be permitted, under any pretence whatever, to leave the colonies into which they have been imported, for the period of five years. All fines that may be incurred for non-payment of tax or stamp duty, or which may be levied upon the immigrants for the benefit of their employers, if not duly paid, will expose them to imprisonment, *with hard labour*, at the rate of one day for every sixpence of such fines.

This law is intended to be retrospective in its operation. It will include all immigrants from India and Africa to the emancipated colonies, whose period of residence has not reached five years at the time of its enactment. It will embrace both sexes, the women as well as the men.

With respect to the emancipated labourers, they are to be brought under a complicated system of implied contracts. It will, therefore, be impossible for any of them to work upon a plantation, without finding himself bound to service for a month, terminable only by a fortnight's notice.

These legal enactments, coupled with other arrangements which bring the labouring population, whether native or immigrant, under the magisterial authority of the planters, are calculated, if not directly intended, to restrict unjustly the rights of the labourers, and improperly to enlarge the powers of their employers.

Coolie immigration into the West Indies may be said to have failed already. The Government and the West Indian body are alike convinced that it is too expensive. It will, therefore, in future, most probably be restricted to the Mauritius. Into that colony thousands *per annum* will yet be poured, to fill up the chasms caused by mortality, and return to India at the termination of their periods of service. But to balance the loss of the Coolies, Africans are to be imported into the West Indies. Not content with the supply they have hitherto had of this class of labourers from Sierra Leone, St. Helena, and other places where this country has established Mixed Commission or Vice-Admiralty Courts, the Government have undertaken to convey from the Kroo coast, Western Africa, to Trinidad and British Guiana, in the first instance, a constant stream of immigrants, for the exclusive benefit of the planters. The Government undertake to bear the expenses connected with this extraordinary importation at first, but expect ultimately to be reimbursed out of the general colonial taxation. In the event of the experiment, as it is termed, succeeding, there can be no doubt of its extension to as great an extent, as the West India body in this country may desire. It may be stated, that one reason given by the Government, for allowing the importation of Kroomen into the British colonies is the fact, that the liberated negroes at Sierra Leone refuse to go thither, notwithstanding all the efforts made to induce them to do so. Those only who are found on board condemned slavers, now embark for the West Indies and British Guiana, and they may be said to embark under a species of compulsion. To justify the new scheme of African immigration, it is asserted, that the Kroomen are free. The Committee, however, venture to deny this; they may not be slaves in so absolute a sense, as many other African tribes; but they are, beyond all doubt, bondmen. They are not in a condition to enter into contracts for labour independently of their chiefs or headmen; they cannot leave their country without their permission. It is, therefore, the practice to obtain their concurrence by presents, the advance of wages, or other advantages; and it is invariably the case, that a considerable portion of the earnings of the Kroomen, on their return home, goes into the same hands. Their wives never accompany them. Though there are usually six or seven thousand Kroomen at Sierra Leone, and some of their headmen with them, not a single case was ever known of a wife being brought thither. They, it is believed, are kept as hostages, to secure their return. Their wives are slaves in the most abject sense.

Such being the case, the Committee cannot but regard this new mode of supplying the colonies with labourers, as the commencement of a modified slave-trade, which they believe to be the more dangerous in its character and consequence from its taking the character of a free immigration from Africa, and from its having the direct sanction of Government.

It should be remembered that the scheme of colonial immigration is in no way altered for the better. It remains substantially the same, as that acted upon for the last few years. The cost of immigration is still to be borne by the colonies, the emancipated classes being the chief parties taxed for that purpose; no provision is made for the introduction of an equal number of the sexes, though the disparity already existing among the immigrants is perfectly frightful; and that the worst features of the old scheme is now to be connected with stringent regulations for the purpose of securing at the lowest rates of wages, the entire labour of the immigrants to the planters. And that, further, whilst the Creole or native labourer is to be compelled, by additional taxation on his clothing, and food, and materials for building, to find the means for paying the bounty on imported labourers, in order to keep down the rates of wages, he is also, at the same time, to be coerced to labour, under a system of implied contracts, which he must, in a multitude of cases, either accept or starve.

Such is the present plan of the British Government and the West India planters, and we think we rightly term it, an attempt to re-establish Slavery in the Islands. We have no fear but it will be promptly met, exposed, and frustrated by the Abolitionists of Great Britain. But in the meantime it will rejoice the hearts of the slaveholders, and their abettors, in this country, who will point more triumphantly than ever to the West Indies, and assert that Emancipation is a failure. We hope to hear by the next arrival from England that the "League" is busy in the work which the pro-slavery party have given it to do.

General Taylor for the Presidency.

The nomination of Gen. Taylor for the Presidential Chair, will doubtless be received with great joy at the South. It will please all parties. Even the growling clique of South Carolina, which is rarely satisfied with anything or anybody, will probably unite most heartily in the support of Gen. Taylor. He is orthodox on the subject of Slavery, and that is the first, and indeed the only qualification that the South requires in a President. The dough-faces among the professedly Anti-Slavery Whigs of the North are twisted into a comical expression of distress at the dilemma in which they are likely to be placed. Probably many of them expected to make a comfortable meal on the brave words they have been spouting the last two or three years, but they take it hard to be crowded to a surfeit. An ordinary slaveholder they probably expected to support, but to be obliged to throw up their hats for the General of the marauding army in Mexico; the author of the American system of warfare—that of running down the enemy with bloodhounds; and withal a slaveholder, and known to be devoted to the peculiar interests of the South, is more than they expected their overseers would ask of such obedient vassals. Some of them, however, we hope and pray may follow the manly example of the Boston Courier, and give the South to understand at the outset, that they intend no longer to submit to the tyranny of a slaveholding oligarchy.

The Washington correspondent of the Charleston Mercury has been making some calculations as to the next election, and the conclusion he comes to, is, that if the Southern States will be united they will have it all their own way. He need not have come from South Carolina to be sure of that. But hear him:

If we consider the votes of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Maine, as doubtful, both parties running abolition candidates, it is certain that Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey, would, in such a contest, go for the Whig candidate. It follows that if the South are united against an abolition Democratic candidate, he cannot be elected. We will now see what would be the result if the Whigs were to present a Presidential candidate, who would command the confidence and receive the vote of the South, in opposition to a democratic abolition candidate, that being the issue, and the South being united in opposition to abolition.

He would receive the entire slaveholding vote, say one hundred and twenty-three, and would require but twenty-three votes from all the non-slaveholding States, to elect him. If the South were now so rallied, and public opinion so developed, as to convince the political leaders of the Whig party that the entire Southern vote would give satisfactory guarantee to the South on the question of abolition, can any believe for a moment that the Whigs would hesitate to nominate such a candidate? Do we not know that, apart from this question, the Whigs are inclined to nominate Gen. Taylor, because they believe that he will be an available candidate. Who, then, can hesitate to believe that if the South are rallied, so as to convince both parties, that no candidate who is tainted with the breath of suspicion on this subject, can receive a single Southern vote, that both parties will compete for the vote of the South, by presenting candidates acceptable to the South?

No doubt this is very sound doctrine. The South knows, from the experience of half a century, that if she is true to herself, she can make the North true to her. We cannot help hoping, indeed we feel quite sure, that there is to be a great winnowing in all parties by the next Presidential whirlwind.

The Annual Meeting.

There is, we believe, no Anti-Slavery meeting held during the year, of so much real importance as that of the annual meeting of the American Society, in May. We are not sure however, that we are not almost alone in this opinion. Certainly, if we may judge by the attendance of Abolitionists generally on that occasion, they do not agree with us. If we understand, however, the philosophy of our enterprise, our first duty is to act in all legitimate ways upon the great public mind. The day of Emancipation will never dawn upon us, if we work only in a corner. The unhallowed union of these States will never be severed unless the people are converted to our way of thinking. Every public meeting, then, is of importance in bringing before the people the cause, and the principles upon which it is conducted. That meeting is of the most consequence which does this most effectually. If it is an influence upon Abolitionists alone which is sought, a meeting held in Hull, Massachusetts, which always gives an unanimous vote for a Whig Governor, and seldom casts fewer than six votes, would answer the purpose as well, if properly reported in the Liberator, as one held in New-York. But if we are right in supposing that the demonstration is needed for the people at large, and the whole country, then the meeting had better be in New-York than in Hull. This is the largest city in the Union, and has more newspapers. The Anniversary week brings together more people from all parts of the country, than congregates at any other time, at any other place. A meeting here is reported in more papers, the knowledge of it is spread wider, and affects more minds for good or for evil, than any other does or can. We take it this needs no argument. If the thousands upon thousands of people, especially at the South, who hear of the Abolitionists once a year at their annual gathering in New-York, judge of their influence, as men invariably do, by their numbers, we fear that they must conclude that however fanatical this class of persons are, that there are fortunately very few of them, and that their fanaticism is prudently confined to their own homes.

Now we are very certain that the Tabernacle itself would be crowded by delegates alone to the annual meeting, if there was the right feeling on this subject. We know there are thousands who can well afford both time and money to be present on this occasion, but who stay at home from sheer indifference to the cause. The money it would cost them they spend ten times over in the course of the year in luxuries, or in comforts which the slave never heard of; and the time it would take, they spend ten times over in the village shops, or in listless indolence at their own fire-sides. Their whole duty to the cause they seem to think, consists in taking one or two newspapers a year—and sometimes not that—in attending a lecture, if there happens to be one, in their own town, and sometimes in contributing a dollar or two to the cause, if they are hard pressed for it. Many, we would fain believe, who are of this class, are so more from thoughtlessness, than selfishness, if we may make such a distinction, but sure we are that such a class includes a large proportion of the professed Abolitionists.

We see yearly at the meeting of the American Society the same faces, and right glad are the few who come together there to greet each other. Nor are they people of much substance, or much leisure, but they have great wealth of anti-slavery zeal, and count it great gain if they spend and are spent for the slave's sake. But we put it to the consciences of the stay-at-home friends, if they are faithful in their duty, in leaving the heat and burden of such a cause as ours, to rest upon a few? If it is a sufficient reason for holding the annual meeting that we may know what we have done for the past year, what we ought to do for the year to come, and that the people of the whole country may know through the far-reaching voice of the New-York press, and the reports of the thousands who crowd here to the other anniversaries, what it is that Abolitionists are doing, and what they propose to do, is it not, we ask, a good reason also for every Abolitionist, at whatever sacrifice, to make one of the number on so important an occasion? We will venture to say, that not one in five hundred of the thousands that stay away, can reconcile his absence to his anti-slavery conscience—if he have one—if the question be fairly stated.

We earnestly entreat our friends to consider this matter. Every town in the Atlantic States, at least where there are half-a-dozen Abolitionists, can send one delegate if no more. A little pains-taking in calling local meetings, in choosing delegates, and if need be, providing for their expenses, will insure an overwhelming gathering.

To those who can afford to come, but have not the time, or the inclination, we make another proposition. Let them send some one else in their place. Or if they will not do this, let them at least send to the meeting the money it would cost to bring themselves. If a few are to be left to do the work, if you will give nothing else, give them means to do it with.

Speakers at the Annual Meeting.

We call the attention of our readers once more to the advertisement of the annual meeting. At the first session at the Tabernacle, on Tuesday morning, addresses will be made by the following persons:

FREDERICK DOUGLASS,
J. W. WALKER,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. Walker we announce, though not yet certain that he will be present. He encourages us to hope that he will be here, though he has as yet given no absolute promise. We shall be able to state positively next week. Messrs. Phillips, Douglass, and Garrison, are sure to be present.

The meetings will continue for two days and a half in the Apollo. We may safely promise that they will want nothing in interest and importance, when we announce that, in addition to those already mentioned, there will be present, C. L. REMOND, J. C. HATHAWAY, E. D. HUDSON, W. W. BROWN, C. C. BURLEIGH, J. M. MCKIM, C. M. BURLEIGH, E. M. DAVIS, ROBERT PURVIS, PARKER PILLSBURY, W. H. CHANNING, S. S. FOSTER, E. QUINCY, B. S. JONES, OLIVER JOHNSON, and no doubt others well known as able speakers.

THE "NORTHERN MAN WITH SOUTHERN CITIZENSHIP," still continues his valuable communications to the Courier & Enquirer. We read them with great satisfaction, and in a state of pleasing uncertainty, as to whether the writer is very much of a wag, or three-parts fool, or slightly crazed. He says some very shrewd things, with a pleasant smile, some very wicked ones, and some that are very ridiculous, if he be in earnest. That we are at all puzzled, however, by him, is perhaps owing to the contrast between his style, and the blundering mixture of stupidity and atrocity which have heretofore characterized the editorial articles on this subject, in the Courier.

The chief reason, this Northern man thinks, for the political superiority of the South over the North, is in the fact, that the former have "made manners a specific object of cultivation through successive generations." What sort of manners, he does not say. But many a brow-beaten, and bullied Northern member of Congress might confess that the manners with which the handle of a bowie-knife has been pointed out to him, or, to preserve the freedom of debate, some Hotspur has threatened to cut off his ears, and other like pleasanties, in which the Southern members are in the habit of indulging themselves and amusing their friends, has had something to do with their political supremacy.

He hints, too, that the propriety of all offices being monopolized by the South, should not be questioned, inasmuch as her sons are better fitted for governing, as they are more used to it than their Northern brethren. We half-suspect here a sly allusion to plantations as well as Presidencies, to cow-hides as well as Cabinets, but very likely we do the writer injustice.

He asserts that "the idea of Slavery is abhorrent to intelligent minds in northern climes." If he had said it ought to be, we should agree with him. But we know it is very far from true. We were about to instance the editors of the very paper he is writing for, but they cannot come under his category of intelligent. Of course he deprecates, evidently with tears in his eyes, such delusive mental and lost moral condition. Nothing, he says, "nothing but the meekest submission to the whole of God's revealed will can save from error, in this particular." Alas! for this stiff-necked and proud generation! To such meek submission, we are persuaded, multitudes of them will never bow. But then he adds that the "tendencies of civilized minds are all that way." Does he mean, then, that a meek submission to the will of God is opposed to mind enlightened by culture? That certainly would be true if the will of God is what he supposes. But he makes his position clear in the next sentence, in asserting that, "to that love of Liberty and hatred of oppression, which characterizes northern climes, the *fallacy of supposing Slavery is oppression*, seems almost instinctive." Now we understand him,—"the *fallacy* of supposing Slavery oppression"! We will give something for his opinion on that point, if he will sell himself for a year, to a sugar-planter on the Mississippi.

The following sentiment, we confess the Northern Abolitionists ought to take into serious consideration. With many, however, the bad manners of the thing have become so habitual, that they will never be cured of it. Clarkson, who has just died, is a notable instance of how such tricks will cling to one. "The South think it bad policy, bad patriotism, and *bad manners*, on the part of the North, to ask them to give up slaveholding, after they have, in the most distinct, unequivocal, and solemn manner, declared, that they will terminate their slaveholding, and their mortal existence simultaneously. They habitually take others at their word, and think that it belongs to good manners so to do"!!!! This matter we will venture to say, was never before put in so strong a light. That the North is impolite, is a stigma, however, which we doubt not will cling to her till Slavery and the slaveholders end together, if they are determined upon such a simultaneous winding-up.

One sober word of sound sense, however, he does give utterance to. "Is there not," he asks, "a little lack of clearness in the defining of political position," in New England. Most unquestionably is there, and a sensible question is that which he proposes the South should ask of the North, till she gets an answer, why "she—the North—continues to moralize with her"? If the Northern people will not adopt the sentiment—"the Constitution as it is"—he does not see what other position they can assume than abolition or Disunion to free themselves from guilt. Such a position, he says, "is deeply to be respected"; and a most sensible conclusion is it of the whole matter, and the issue to which the people, North and South, must come, sooner or later—ABOLITION or DISUNION.

New Temperance Reformation in South Carolina.

A case was recently decided in the Court of Common Pleas, in the Kershaw District, South Carolina, which opens a new field of speculation for the Temperance Reformers in that virtuous and happy State. It seems that some small dealer in rum sold to one Bob, slave of the plaintiff in this case, a gallon and quart of whiskey, which the said Bob, oblivious of the happy condition which belonged to him by virtue of his chattelship, drank to the purpose of making himself happier. The poor fellow on his way home to the awful licking which no doubt awaited him, for doing that which nobody but a slave in all the world should be excused for doing, fell several times in the road, and once into a creek, out of which some Samaritan, considering the high price of negro-flesh, assisted him. Nevertheless, either unable to get to his shanty, or afraid of the reception he might meet with if he did, he spent the night in the open air, and was found dead the next morning. It was declared by the Coroner that poor Bob came to his death from exposure and intoxication.

Now here the matter would have ended in these dark hyperborean regions, except that the rumseller would have been likely to have heard occasionally of this deed which he and the devil did together. But the Patriarchs have established a License Law which is far beyond anything the Massachusetts people have dared to attempt yet. The owner of Bob, sued the dealer in rum, and recovered the pretty sum of $650. Everybody but the rumsellers in Carolina will rejoice in such a precedent as this. The poor Bobs now may get drunk without half the fear of evil consequences that they were wont to have, for their masters will be sure to get their value in case of accident. And the masters may also find it convenient to send some troublesome fellows to the rum-shops, with money enough for the purpose, in the hope, that like Bob, they may take themselves out of the way, and a good price be got out of the rumseller for the body. Certainly as long as Bob and his brethren chattels, everybody ought to rejoice at the nearest possible approach which their masters make to treating them as such. The less they are held as accountable beings the better; and if they get drunk, or commit any atrocity, those persons who may use them as their instruments, or abuse them as their victims, should suffer the consequences.

DECISION IN A SLAVE CASE.—We observe in the Pittsburg Commercial Journal, that in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Lloyd Logan, Peter Kramer, and J. S. Johnson, for an alleged breach of the peace, in capturing a fugitive slave, Judge Lowrie decided that the prisoners were not guilty. We have not seen the trial, but we should suppose the decision would be peculiarly grateful to the Virginia kidnappers, who find Pittsburg a convenient field for their operations. In the opinion of the Judge, the breach of the peace was committed by the man whom Logan and his companions were walking off as a slave, and those who came to his assistance! The people of Pittsburg should petition to be annexed to Virginia. The editor of the Mystery—a coloured man—was heavily fined a few days since, for a libel, in warning the coloured people against a kidnapper. To *be* a kidnapper is not a breach of the peace, but to *say* a man is one, will cost you $150 in Pittsburg.

OF COURSE.—The Domestic Slave-Trader, who at present occupies the Presidential Chair of this Republic, has pardoned two of his *guild*, Wm. Von Pfister, and Lorin Larkin, who foolishly extended their operations beyond what the law is pleased to assign as the limits of the trade, and were to be hanged for it.

THE MEETING AT THE TABERNACLE.—We beg our friends to remember that the meeting of the American Society is at the Tabernacle, on *Tuesday morning*, and adjourns to the Apollo in the afternoon. We are thus particular, as the American and Foreign society, whose existence is heard of once nearly every year, has warned the public through an advertisement in the Tribune, that their meeting is in the afternoon, and not in the morning, at the Tabernacle.

☞ We have on hand a letter from our Dublin correspondent, which we much regret did not reach us in season for this paper. It has been unaccountably detained somewhere between the Boston post-office and this city.

☞ Rev. Mr. Headley, the author of "Napoleon and his Generals," and a most popular writer, has become the editor of the Christian Parlour Magazine, published in this city.

NARRATIVE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—The Liberator stated a few weeks since, that the Narrative of Douglass had been translated by Miss Parkees, of Bristol, England, into French, and it was hoped that some Paris bookseller would undertake its publication. Mr. Garrison also states that before he left England arrangements had been made for publishing the work in Germany. We met accidentally, a few days since, with a Review, published somewhere in the Netherlands, containing a long notice of Douglass' Narrative, which, if we rightly understood, has been published in Dutch. The book deserves all the honour it can receive, remarkable as it is, not only for the story, but for the style in which it is written.

Frederick Douglass.

The friends of this faithful and able advocate of the race of the slave, will be glad to hear of his safe arrival home, and in good health, in the Cambria.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry:* Temperance Song; Speak No Ill. *Miscellany:* Toussaint, (continued); A Week in Ireland—by Elihu Burritt.

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery:* Pastoral Address of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, &c. *Selections:* The Rev. James Caughey on American Slavery; Anti-Slavery Soiree; Intellect of the Negro Race; The Slave-Trade; The Coloured Population of Massachusetts; The Presidency. *Communications:* The Wesleyan Church.

SECOND PAGE.—The Church Question among American Abolitionists, &c.; Truisms.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Late from Mexico.

The latest arrival from California brings intelligence of a battle at San Gabriel, which the Americans of course report as favourable to themselves.

The following paragraph from the Union contains the latest news from Mexico:

We have seen a letter from Vera Cruz to the 5th of April, inclusive, which states that the conflict of arms between the rival parties at the Capital had ceased. Santa Anna is in full possession of the executive authority, and Vice President Farias has resigned or been expelled. There is no longer an opposing party in arms. It is reported that all the intelligent, wealthy, and sober-minded of the Capital and elsewhere are anxious for peace, and willing to yield to us as the basis the left bank of the Rio Grande and Upper California. It is said on the other hand, that the popular masses are in favour of continuing hostilities. Our troops were about to advance upon the National Bridge, and Jalapa, (30 and 60 miles, respectively, from Vera Cruz.) No serious resistance was expected to the east of Perote, (90 miles,) *if there.*

General Items.

Temperance in the Far West.—The people of Iowa voted lately by counties, on the license question. In all counties yet heard from, "no license" obtained decided majorities.

Ole Bull.—The Boston Bee says that Ole Bull has written to a friend in New-York, that he will return to this country soon, with his family, and settle here for life.

Death of Mr. Sully.—Thomas Sully, Jr. the painter, died suddenly on last Sunday, in Philadelphia. Mr. Sully was a son of the eminent painter of that name.

The machinists of Boston are at present making a movement to have the hours of labour reduced from eleven to ten hours per day.

A Mr. Shield, of Cincinnati, has a pair of spectacles that once belonged to Oliver Cromwell. He is said to have worn them on the day of the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Mr. Burton, of one of the Philadelphia theatres, arrested the Viennoise children on their way to Baltimore, for a breach of contract. The car containing them was detached from the train.

La Patria, the Spanish paper published at New Orleans, in relating the occurrences at Vera Cruz during the seige, gives the following incident:

A bomb from the American camp fell upon a church, passed through the roof, and exploded near the altar, killed fifteen women, who had there taken refuge and were engaged in prayer.

The Rev. Wm. Adam, of Northampton, has received an invitation to the pastoral charge of the Unitarian church in Chicago, (Ill.) and has accepted the same.

Vigilance of the Post-Office Department!—We recently sent a paper to a friend, at the end of whose name we placed a interrogation point—[?]—and we learn that the man who presides over the leather bags of the Government, demanded letter postage, as he considered the ominous crooked character equivalent to a letter sheet! We commend the fellow to the kind attention of his Exorbitancy, Cave Johnson, Postmaster General.—*Woonsocket Patriot.*

United States Mint.—The coinage of the mint and branch mints, for the month of April last, was $2,676,328, being, as the director states in his accompaying letter of the 17th instant, "the largest that has yet been reported for any one month." Of this amount there is in gold $2, 382,697; silver $291,600, and in copper $2,031. —*Union.*

Wind Ship.—The Independence (Mo.) Expositor says: Mr. Thomas, the gentleman who has been engaged for some time past in building a wagon to go by wind and sail, as a ship, has, we understand, nearly completed his undertaking, and will make a trip some hundred or two miles out, in a short time. He has engaged the services of a regular sea captain, we are informed, who is a gentleman of much talent. He has dubbed it the "Wind Ship;" it carries one hundred square yards of sail.

A Letter from Father Mathew.—The following letter [illegible] was received just as our paper was going to press, but it is too precious, both in its glowing acknowledgment of American sympathy for suffering Ireland, and the announcement of his purpose to visit us, to be withheld.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

CORK, 31st March, 1847.

My Dearest Friend: The magnificent humanity evinced by our beloved brethren in the States, for the suffering Irish, has inspired every heart in this Island with ardent gratitude.

We shall ever regard America as our deliverer in the hour of bitter calamity. The immense supply of Indian Corn, wafted into the Cove of Cork, the last few days, and the Free-Gift Cargoes, daily expected, have had an unexpected effect on the corn market. Maize has fallen from £19 to £10 the ton. In the darkest hour of calamity we should not despair. The mercies of the Lord are above all His wondrous works. I am resolved, God willing, to leave Ireland for the States next summer. It shall be my constant, anxious prayer that the Lord may remove every obstacle, and allow me to indulge this darling desire of my heart.

As soon as the expected bread-stuff vessels will arrive in Cork, I shall have the pleasure of writing to you again, expressing my thanks. Presenting kindest remembrance to all my friends, I have the honour to be, dear, Mr. Weed, yours affectionately,

THEOBALD MATHEW.

Boundary.—A committee of the Virginia Legislature, to which was referred the subject of appointing joint commissioners for the adjusting of the boundary between that State and Ohio, made a report re-affirming the claim of that State to sovereignty and jurisdiction "co-extensive with the bed of the Ohio river between the banks at all times, covered by the water or not! and that as well in regard to the soil of such bed, when covered by the water as when it is left bare by the temporary receding of the water." In other words, they still set up their old claim of jurisdiction to "high water mark,"—a claim so absurd as never to be recognized by the citizens of Ohio.—*Star.*

The first steamer of the new line between this port and Havre is expected to sail from the latter city the 1st proximo. The vessels of this line are to sail twice a month from April to November, and once a month, from December to March. In addition to this line we are to have the Cunard line from Liverpool, that of which the Sarah Sands is one, and that from Bremen and Cowes for the ensuing year.

A man in Keene, N. H. lately found an Indian scalping-knife imbedded in the trunk of a tree, which, from the rings of the wood, must have been left sticking in the sapling *one hundred and forty* years ago.

The first stage route between New-York and Boston was established in 1732—time, fourteen days from city to city.

A marble statue of Wm. Pitt, which before the Revolution stood in front of the Government House in Wall street, has been recently found in a cellar. It is somewhat mutilated.

The Tribune has ascertained that the total number of immigrants who have arrived in this country since the first of January, is about twenty-eight thousand.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For Standard—from April 17th, to April 25th, 1847.

Horace Seaman, Milford, N. Y.	$1 00	
E. W. Longstreet, "	1 00	
Porter Hill, "	1 00	
James H. Brown, "	1 00	
J. Bradley, "	1 00	
Stephen Estes, Horse Heads, N. Y.	1 00	
Hannah Lowe, Elmira, N. Y.	1 00	
W. J. Hamilton, "	1 00	
J. C. Buck, "	1 00	
Braxton Thomas, "	1 00	
Perry Cornwell, Ludlowville, N. Y.	1 00	
Henry Wood, East Lansing, N. Y.	1 00	
O. W. Allen, Worcester, Mass.	50	
O. M. Lowell, "	1 00	
Cephas Smith, Rockport, Mass.	1 00	
Joseph Wilson, Boston, Mass.	1 00	
Caroline H. Coffin, "	1 00	
Samuel Hammond, Marlborough, Mass.	1 00	
Mathew Truman, Paradise, Pa.	1 00	
Samuel Lundy, Waterloo, N. Y.	1 00	
Laura J. Turner, Bridgewater, N. Y.	1 00	
David Ketcham, Pleasant Valley, N. Y.	1 00	
Francis Jackson, Elmira, N. Y.	1 00	
John Johnson, "	1 00	
S. S. Garfield, Newfield, N. Y.	1 00	
W. P. Atkinson, New Bedford, Mass.	2 00	
		26 50
Total Amount,		$26 50

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

The Windham County Anti-Slavery Society will hold a Convention at Danielsonville, on Tuesday, the 18th of May, commencing at ten o'clock, and continuing through the day. Addresses will be delivered on the occasion by C. C. Burleigh, Samuel May and others. All are invited to attend.

When tyrant power is increased, threatening to subjugate the nominally free to its control, is it not time to arouse the people from their ruinous slumber, that *right* and *freedom* become not obsolete terms in your vocabulary?

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, *Pres't.*

LUCIAN BURLEIGH, *Sec.*

MEETINGS.

W. W. Brown and Dr. Hudson will hold meetings in conjunction, as follows. The friends of the slave in the different places will not forget to anticipate their arrival, and make all the necessary arrangements for the meetings. At

Washington, 30 and May 1,
Poughkeepsie, May 2 and 3,
New Paltz Landing, 4 and 5,
Milton, 6 and 7.

Meetings to commence at 7 o'clock, P. M. on the first day of the appointments, and at 1 and 7, P. M. on the second day in each place.

COLOURED OLPHAN ASYLUM.

The tenth anniversary of the Coloured Orphan Asylum will be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, (Monday) May the 10th, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

ANNIVERSARY IN MAY.

The friends of the abolition of Capital Punishment throughout the United States, are earnestly requested to be represented at the meeting of the New-York State Society, to be held in this city on Monday, May the 10th. Among the speakers expected to address this meeting, are Hon. Robert Rantoul, Wendell Phillips, John Pierpont, Horace Greeley, Rev. E. H. Chapin, Charles C. Burleigh, Parke Godwin, J. L. O'Sullivan, Rev. W. H. Channing, and Prof. Patterson, of Philadelphia.

JOSIAH HOPPER, Sec. W. T. McCOUN, Pres.

☞ Papers friendly, please copy.

FAIR COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March 11th, 1847, the following persons were appointed a Committee on the Fair, to be held at the close of the year:

Mary T. Stickney,	Margaretta Forten,
Anna M. Hopper,	Mary Grew,
Emma Parker,	Mary Shaw,
A. Matilda Cassey,	Esther Reckless,
Janette Jackson,	Sarah Pugh,
Maria M. Davis,	Clementine Green,
Margaret Griscom,	Elizabeth Carman,
Martha Carman,	Sarah M. Douglass,
Harriet D. Purvis,	Esther Hogeland,
Hannah L. Stickney,	Esther Burr,
Emily Winslow,	Lydia Gillingham,
Theresa K. Hallowell,	Sarah L. Child,
Paulina S. Wright,	Gertrude K. Burleigh,
Sarah A. McKim,	Huldah Justice,
Eliza J. Bias,	Margaret Jones.

ANTI-SLAVERY LEAGUE.

Tickets of membership may be obtained at 142 Nassau St. price 25 cts. Friends from the country wishing tickets, to constitute themselves and any of their friends members of the League, may obtain them by remitting the money and names with the residence of each, when the tickets properly filled up, will be forwarded to them by mail.

The Anti-Slavery League is an Association formed in London, of which George Thompson, Esq. is President, and which is intended to include all, in all parts of the world, who can adopt the PRINCIPLE of the League, which is thus expressed on the ticket:

"Slaveholding, under all conceivable circumstances, is a heinous sin, and ought to be immediately abandoned."

LOST CHILD.

Thornton Delany Parker, a small coloured boy about nine years of age, was decoyed from Pittsburgh during the absence of his parents some four months ago. He generally calls himself Thornton Delany.

The last they heard of the child, he had been a short time in Cleveland, Ohio, from whence he went to New-York State. Any information concerning him will be thankfully received by his anxious parents, HENRY & SARAH PARKER, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Direct the information to the care of the Editor of the Mystery, Pittsburgh.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

It is proposed to hold a Fair, to aid the cause of emancipation, at the time and place of the next anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and the object of this circular is to invite all, to assist in preparing for that occasion, who are the foes of oppression—who desire that our country shall be redeemed from the rule of tyrants [illegible] to break the yoke of the captive, and to repel the aggressions which Slavery is making upon our own rights. Whether the contributions shall be worthy of the cause—worthy the high professions of those who stand forth as the friends of liberty, may greatly depend, reader, upon *your* efforts. Are you willing to contribute of your abundance or your penury? are you willing to stimulate others to do good works, and unite with them to bring your neighbourhood offering, and lay it upon the altar of humanity? If you have neither silver nor gold, are you willing to consecrate a portion of what you *do* possess to this cause? Let the farmer and his wife bring grain and wool, brooms and baskets, cloth, and other manufactured articles—let the dairy-maid come with her cheese and butter, and the miller with his flour—let the hatter and tinner, the saddler and shoemaker, present such needful things as their several handicrafts can furnish—let the merchant contribute liberally of his stock, and those who are skilful with the needle, bring such useful and fancy articles as their ingenuity may devise.

The proceeds of this Fair will be appropriated to the support of the Anti-Slavery movement in the West, either by placing them at the disposal of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, or applying them, by direction of the donors, to some branch of this reform, in harmony with the views of that society.

The cause for which we ask you to labour is one which is fraught with the deepest interest to millions of our race—it meets with favour from the virtuous and the good, and is approved by the Father of the oppressed. We affectionately invite you to share the toil and the reward of this work—we appeal to you in the name of MAN, robbed and outraged—we ask you to be true to the instincts of your better nature, and to prove by your actions that you appreciate the blessings of liberty and the safe-guards of virtue.

Betsey M. Cowles, Austinburg,
Lydia Irish, New Lisbon,
Jane D. McNealy, Greene,
Mary Donaldson, do.
Matilda S. Howell, Painesville,
Susan Marshall, do.
Maria L. Giddings, Jefferson,
Mercy Lloyd, Lloydsville,
Mary Ann Bronson, Medina,
Phebe Ann Carroll, Ravenna,
Martha J. Tilden, do.
Ruth Dugdale, Green Plain,
Elizabeth Borton, Selma,
Maria Whitmore, Andover,
Sarepta Brown, New Lyme,
Eliza Cowles, Geneva,
Zilpah Barnaby, Mt. Union,
Harriet N. Torrey, Parkman,
Elizabeth A. Stedman, Randolph,
Cordelia Smalley do.
Elizabeth Butterworth Hopkinsville,
Ann Walker, Leesville,
Mary Griswold, New Garden,
Eliza Holmes, Columbiana,
Leah Voglesong, do.
Anna C. Fuller, Brooklyn,
Cornelia R. Cowles, Buffalo, N. Y.
Laura Barnaby, Salem,
J. Elizabeth Jones. do,

NORFOLK COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Dedham, in Temperance Hall, on Thursday, April 29th, at 9 o'clock A. M. Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips will be present, and it is hoped that Mr. Douglass will arrive in time to attend the meeting. Other speakers will be hereafter announced. It is earnestly hoped that there will be a strong rally of Abolitionists from every part of the county, and from other parts of the State. A meeting of unusual interest is anticipated. The Abolitionists of Dedham offer their hospitality to all those who may come up to this assembly.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*

INCREASE S. SMITH, } *Secretaries.*
ANNE M. WESTON, }

TO PARENTS.

The subscriber will receive into his family several children (boys or girls) to be educated intellectually and morally. Terms given on application.

Refers to Rev. Samuel May, and Mrs. E. L. Follen.

FREDERIC HINCKLEY.

LEICESTER, Mass.

Free Labour Dry Goods & Groceries.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

FRESH and new goods just received, consisting in part of shirting and sheeting muslin, bleached and brown
Manchester ginghams of superior quality, various style;
2d quality do. assorted patterns.
Calico, do.
Colored cambrics and Canton flannel, assorted colors.
Bleached and brown do. do. and table diaper.
Colored table-cloths, imitation of linen.
Cotton hdkfs. assorted styles.
Apron and furniture check.
Cotton twilled pantaloon stuff.
Knitting cotton, various Nos. bleached, brown, and coloured.
Cotton laps and wadding, white and coloured. Also,
Refined loaf, crushed, and pulverized sugar.
Brown sugar, good quality, of different grades, by the barrel, bag, or pound.
Sugar-house and West India molasses, good quality.
Rice, coffee, and chocolate.
Superior Teas, Selected with care, for family use or stores, viz: Fine Oolong, Souchong, and other black teas. Also, green tea of superior quality.
Various spices and confectionary, &c. &c. The whole stock exclusively of free labor goods, to which the subscriber would invite the attention of country merchants, as well as his friends and the public generally.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
(Successor to Joel Fisher.)
Northwest corner Fifth and Cherry sts.
Philadelphia, 3d mo. 25th, 1847.—1y.*

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.	
Duty, 20 per ct ad val. per 100lbs	
Pots, 1st sort 1846	7 4.81½ a 5.00
Pearl	6.37½ a 6.50
BEESWAX.	
Duty: 20 per cent. ad val.	
Cuba, white per lb	—.50 a —.55
American, yellow,	—.27 a —.—
BRISTLES.	
Duty, 5 per cent ad val.	
St.Pet'sbg, 1st sort lb.	.90 a 1.12½
do. 2d sort	.35 a .45
Okatka, gray & white	1.90 a 1.95
Souchoy	60 a .65
American	55 a .60
COAL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Liverpool, Orrel, chal	7.00 a 7.25
Newcastle, coarse	6.00 a 6.75
Scotch	5.00 a 5.50
Sidney and Pictou	6.75 a 7.00
Anthracite, 2,000lbs	5.50 a 6 00
DOMESTICS.	
Shirtings, brown 3-4 yd	5 a 6
do. do. 7-8	— a —
do. bleached	6 a 8
do. S. I. do.	7 a 11
Sheetings, brown 4-4	7 a 8½
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12
do. bleached 4-4	8 a 12
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15
Calicoes, blue	9 a 12
do. fancy	7 a 15
Plaids	9 a 11
Kentucky jeans,	15 a 30
Satinetts	25 a 60
Checks 4-4	8 a 10
Cotton Osna. S. No. 1	— a 9
do. No. 2	— a 8
Cotton yarn, 5 a 13	16 a 18
do. 14 a 19	18 a 22
do. 20 a 23	22 a 23
FLOUR & MEAL.	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Genesee per bbl.	7.87½ a 8.00
Troy	—.— a 7.87½
Michigan	—.— a 7.62½
Ohio, flat hoop	7.75 a 7.81¼
Ohio round hoop	—.— a —.—
Ohio, via, N O	—.— a —.—
Pennsylvania	.— a 7.50
Brandywine	7.50 a —.—
Georgetown	7.37½ a 7 43¾
Baltimore c. mills	7.50 a —.—
Richmond c. mills	8.12½ a 8.25
do. country	7.50 a —.—
Alexandria	7.37½ a —.—
Fredericksburg	7.44 a —.—
Petersburg	7.25 a —.—
Rye flour	4.87½ a 5.44
Cornmeal, Jersey	5.12½ a 5.25
do. hhd.	22.50 a —.—
FISH	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Dry cod, cwt.	3.62½ a 3.75
Dry scale	1.75 a 2.00
Pickled cod, bbl.	3.25 a —.—
do. salmon, tce	16.50 a 17.00
Smoked do. lb	— a —
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	10.00 a 10.50
do. No. 1 small	—.— a —.—
do. No. 2	—.— a —.—
do. do. North	7.00 a 7.25
do. No. 3 South	5.00 a 5.25
do. do. North	4.75 a —.—
Shad, N 1 Ct.hf.bbl.	4.75 a —.—
do. No. 2	4.37½ a 4.62½
Bucksp't. bbl.	—.— a —.—
Mass. do.	—.— a —.—
Southern	—.— a —.—
Herring, pickled	3.25 a 3.50
do. scale, per box,	90 a 95
do. No. 1	55 a 60
do. No. 2	30 a 35
GRAIN.	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Wheat, white bush	1.65 a 1.70
do Western	1.— a 1.30
do. Southern	.— a .—
Rye northern	.— a .87½
Corn north'n & Jer	.94 a .98
do south'n (weight)	85 a .92
do N O & West'n	— a —
Barley, Western,	70 a .75
Oats, northern	48 a .50
do. southern	42 a .45
do. New-Jersey	42 a 45
Beans, white	1.55 a 1.62½
Peas, blk eyed	.— a —.—

FLAX.	
Duty: 15 per cent. ad val.	
Russia per lb.	9 a 11
American	7 a 8
FEATHERS	
Duty: 25 per cent. ad val.	
Foreign per lb.	12 a 25
Foreign A. A.	25 a —
Live, American	28 a 33
HAY—Per 100 lbs.	
North River in bales	45 a 50
HOPS	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
First sort 1846, lb.	9 a 9½
LEATHER. [Sole]	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Oak per lb.	17 a 22
Oak Ohio,	16 a 20
Hemlock, light	15 a 16
do. middle	15 a 16
do. heavy	13 a 14½
do. damaged	12 a 13
do. poor do.	7 a 9
LIME	
Thomaston per bbl	1.13 a 1.14
LUMBER	
Duty: Timber and firewood, 20; boards, timber, &c. shaped for use, 30; do rough, 20 per ct ad val. Yard selling prices	
Timber w. pine pr.c.ft.	13 a 20
do. east'n scant or beams prM. ft.	15.00 a 16.25
do oak, cu. ft.	.20 a .30
do. Gr. Isl. W.O.	—25 a —35
do. O.scnt.pr.M.ft.	30.00 a 35.00
do. Ga.yel.pine (by cargo) per cub. ft.	—24 a —28
Plank Ga. yel. pine pr M foot	27.50 a — —
Boards N.R.M.ft.cl.	30.00 a 35.00
do. 2d ql.	20.00 a 25.00
do. Box	14.00 a 14.50
Albany, piece	10 a .18
Plank Alb. pine	12 a .22
Laths E. by car.	2.50 a 3.00
Shingles bh. 18 in.	1.75 a 2.00
do. Ced.3ft.1stql.	26.00 a —.—
do. do. 2d ql.	22.— a 24.—
do. 2ft.1st ql.	17.— a 18.—
do. do.2dql.	15.— a 16.—
do. Cyprus 2d ql.	13.— a 14.—
Heading W.O.pr.M.	45.— a 50.—
Staves W. O. pipe	50.— a —.—
do. do. hhd.	40.— a —.—
do. do. bbl.	30.— a —.—
do. R. O. hhd.	20.— a 30.—
PROVISIONS.	
Duty: Cheese 30: all other 20 per cent. ad val.	
Beef, mess per bbl.	11.62½ a 12.25
do. prime	9.50 a 10.00
Pork, mess, Ohio	15.00 a 16.00
do. prime do.	12.62½ a 13.00
Lard	9½ a —.10
Hams, smoked	10 a —.11
Shoulders, smoked	7½ a —. 8
Beef do.	10 a —.11
Butter, Orange co.	25 a —.28
do. West'n dairy	18 a —.20
do. common	— a —
Cheese	7 a —. 7½
SEEDS.	
Duty: flaxseed clover, and timothy, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Clover, per lb.	—. 7 a —. 7½
Timothy, 7 bush.	17.— a 22.—
Flax, rough	—.— a 11.50
do. clean	—.— a —.—
TALLOW.	
Duty: tallow grease, & soap stuff 10 per cent. ad val.	
Rendered	8½ a 9
WOOL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Am. Sax'ny. fleece lb.	35 a 37½
Am. full blood Merino	32 a 34
Am. ½ & ¾ Merino	25 a 27
Am. native & ¼ do.	25 a 27
Superfine, pulled, ctry.	30 a 32
do. do. city	29 a 30
No. 1, pulled, country,	26 a 27
do. city	25 a 26
South Am. washed	10 a 18
do. do. & picked	15 a 18
do. unwashed	5 a 7
Africa	6 a 11
Smyrna	10 a 13
Mexican	9 a 11

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TEMPERANCE SONG.

Away, away the rosy wine,
I will not take a sup,
For wreathing serpents round it twine,
And there's poison in the cup.
Mix not for me the flowing bowl,
For in the fumes that rise
The withering shades of death enroll,
And he that drinks it dies.

Say not 'twill yield a potent charm
To soothe a mind distrest,
And with its generous virtues warm
To hope, and joy, the breast.
I ask it not when pleasure's gush
Hath filled my soul with mirth,
Nor when stern fortune seeks to crush
My spirit to the earth.

The pure and crystal draught for me,
From spring, or lake, or stream,
Dancing along so bright and free,
Beneath the sunlit beam.
The draught that gives the body health,—
Contentment to the mind,—
Blesses with intellectual wealth,
And leaves no sting behind.

JAMES STILLMAN.

SPEAK NO ILL.

Nay, speak no ill: a kindly word
Can never leave a sting behind;
And oh! to breathe each tale we've heard,
Is far beneath a noble mind.
Full oft a better seed is sown,
By choosing thus the kinder plan,
For if but little good be known,
Still let us speak the best we can.

Give me the heart that fain would hide—
Would fain another's faults efface.
How can it pleasure human pride
To prove humanity but base?
No: let us reach a higher mood,
A nobler estimate for man:
Be earnest in the search for good,
And speak of all the best we can.

Then speak no ill—but lenient be
To others' failings as your own;
If you're the first a fault to see,
Be not the first to make it known.
For life is but a passing day,
No lip may tell how brief its span:
Then, oh! the little time we stay,
Let's speak of all the best we can.—*Anon.*

Miscellany.

TOUSSAINT:
AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE.

(From an unpublished Translation from the German of Theodore Mügge.)

CHAPTER II.—[CONCLUDED.]

Steps were now heard, rapidly approaching, and presently Gen. De la Veaux entered, attended by several officers.

Blanchelande met him with an inquiring look. "General," said the old soldier, "I come in the name of the Commissaries, to protect you and your house against the violence of the people."

"Of the rabble, you mean," was the proud reply, "for all good citizens remember the services I have rendered them."

"There is only one people here," answered De la Veaux, "citizens, enjoying equal rights."

At these words, the face of the Governor reddened for a moment, but extending his hand to the General, "I am glad," said he, "to see you in my house. I cheerfully yield myself to the protection of a man of honour and a companion in arms. Take good care of me," he added, with a smile, "that I may sleep well. To-morrow I will render due acknowledgments to the Commissaries."

De la Veaux took the offered hand with manifest constraint, and muttered, with an embarrassed air, "I am only obeying orders, and doing my duty."

"And I, as Governor-General, accord you full power. To-morrow this matter shall be set right, for it is only a mistake that could have occasioned any distrust towards me among my fellow-citizens."

"What egregious self-delusion!" whispered Charmilly to his friends. "Let us go. We have nothing more to do here."

They took leave. And Blanchelande, turning to De la Veaux, requested him to attend him as he wished, he said, to visit the several posts, and he went, unconscious that he was a prisoner, and that the Corvette Favourite had left her moorings, and was ready to sail at moment's warning.

When they had all retired, Vincent came out from his hiding-place. He found himself in a position neither pleasant nor safe. He could not venture to leave the house, for he would be stopped by the sentinels. He had only just been discharged from prison, and now he would be exposed to suspicions still more dangerous. The only alternative seemed to be to seek Blanca, whose sudden appearance before her father, and passionate eloquence, and the rude manner in which she had been repulsed, were all still before his mind. Passing through the private entrance by which she had appeared, he hastened through a long suite of rooms. Dreary darkness surrounded him, occasionally relieved by a light flashing across the windows. Vincent looked out upon the sky, over which had gathered one of those sudden and violent storms of the tropics. It whistled and moaned, and a phosphorescent glare glimmered from cloud to cloud. Where should he find Blanca, and what had he to say to her? The indefinable sympathy which he felt for the eccentric maiden, with her strangely mingled passion and coldness, awoke within him. Impatiently he groped his way along. Suddenly a blast of wind whirred and roared over the house, and a flash of lightning almost blinded him. The rain poured in torrents, Vincent turned from the window to examine the room by the frequent and fitful glare. It was a costly apartment, probably occupied by Blanca. But where was she. He strained his eyes to descry some trace of her. A sudden flash disclosed the distinct pannels of a private door. He hastened towards it. It gave way to a gentle pressure, a dim light broke upon him, and stepping over the threshhold, he stood in amazement, close by the object of his search.

It was a small apartment, situated in a turret-like outer wing. An Indian gauze-bed showed its use. Through narrow, Gothic, church-like windows, shone the glare of the lightning. Upon a table, flickered a small lamp, whose dim flame only increased the gloomy look of the place, for at one moment its light was eclipsed by the lightning, and then its glimmer was spread over the ebony walls and was reflected from the gilt ornaments of the ceiling.

But Vincent gazed only at the form before him, kneeling at a low seat, upon which she supported her head. Long black garments flowed down her person, her rich hair hung loosely down in large plaits over her shoulders. Her white hands, folded in prayer, actually shone out from the dark folds of her dress. The fair form seemed to be fixed in death-like repose. Not a sigh escaped her. On the wall appeared in a heavily gilt fame, the portrait of a man of noble features. A wreath of laurel, faded and torn, hung from the top of the frame, and the melancholy eyes seemed to be fixed upon the maiden.

After the lapse of a few minutes, Vincent, deeply moved, ventured to approach her. Laying his hand softly on her dress, he whispered her name. She stirred not. "Blanca!" he repeated, "speak, look at me, you must not be so overcome."

Looking slowly towards him, she rose without showing the least surprise at the intrusion. Then again she gently dropped her head. "What was to be," she said, "has taken place, the house is taken, my father is a prisoner, and his power is at an end."

"Help is yet possible," replied Vincent, "though every moment brings destruction. M. De Blanchelande is under a great delusion. But he has time to escape. For this I am here. No one has seen me enter. I come to warn you, to help you to save your father. Beseech him to fly, the storm will facilitate his escape, and I myself will be his guide."

"Hush!" interrupted Blanca, "that you cannot, shall not be. Do you not know that the escape of the man, called my father, will bring infinite misery over this land? Should he collect all the disaffected at St. Nicholas, and there unfurl the white banner, it would be your doing and mine."

"Blanca!" exclaimed Vincent, greatly shocked, "I honour exalted virtue, but the heart has its claims. He is your father. Shall his daughter aid in his fall? And he will fall, will perhaps suffer a violent death, if to-morrow's sun shall find him here."

"I have struggled and prayed for the last time," said Blanca, "for the last time have I contended with mortal weakness. I resolved to hasten to my father, and fling myself at his feet and cry: 'Away, fly, my father.' Yes, he ought to have listened to me. I weighed my duty to my father against my duty to my country, his blood against the streams of blood that would flow. Then I threw myself at his feet, beseeching him, as I have so often done, to be a citizen, faithful to liberty, but I found him the same weak and wavering man. Surrounded by traitors, his own hand flung me to the ground! Oh, I forgive him," she cried, bursting into tears, and folding her hands, "how his kind heart will be tortured! O, my father, my father, would that I could kiss your grey hairs, that I had been born to you in a hut, where I might make you happy!" She threw herself into an arm-chair, opposite the portrait, and covered her face with her hands. Then rising again, she apostrophized the dead, and seemed to forget the presence of Vincent. "I came to you, dear friend," she said, "to pray before your image to the Unknown Power that weaves the life of man, and cuts the many-coloured threads. And then you came to me from the still world of spirits. I saw you smile, for you know my sufferings. 'Was not my life also cut off by violence,' you said, 'and wherefore? I was proud, and strong, and willing to strive. I strove along; I defied the storms I had conjured up, until the waves swallowed me, and now I lie weary with those that sleep. I have earned what I toiled to deserve—death!' O that the wretches should have dared to murder that bold, heroic man," she exclaimed, in a tone of agony, and wringing her hands, she added, scornfully, "but what right has a particle of dust to complain, if it vanishes in annihilation, sooner or later?"

Vincent now approached her with words of consolation, and reminded her of the emergency, but she replied, with a proud and tranquil air: "Believe me, Capt. Vincent, I am fully aware of the importance of this moment, but do you think I am able to do anything unworthy of myself?"

"No, never!" he cried, pressing her hand to his lips, "an angel of heaven cannot be nobler than yourself. You cannot but choose to do what is right."

"We must part," she exclaimed, "to-morrow, it may be, I shall be put to the trial. I hear steps in the corridor, you must not be found here. Away, these stairs will lead you to the garden, and to-morrow"—She opened a door and urged him to depart, as if she were fearful of his presence. He had heard no steps and would fain have lingered. But the door closed upon him, and he descended into the garden, and thence easily found his way into the street. The rain was pouring in streams. Not a soul was to be seen, for then, as on other occasions, the storm had most effectually dispersed the mob. When a few days previous to the 10th of August, the suburbs of Paris rose, and Petion was warned to be on his guard, he cast a glance out of the window and then taking his seat at the table with his friends: "It will all be quiet," said he, calmly, "it rains, and while it rains, a revolution is impossible." This anecdote had just come from France. "Would to Heaven," said Vincent, "it would rain forever."

Fatigued and wet to the skin, Vincent reached his dwelling, and threw himself on his bed.

CHAPTER III.

In the little cabinet of the Baron Charmilly, were seated at the early dawn of the morning, two persons, who, though they had been talking all night, still seemed to have new matter of discussion suggested. It was Charmilly, and a man of tall, muscular person, who sate opposite, and who, without being corpulent, yet showed the coarse, heavy cheeks of a genuine beefsteak and pudding-eater. His features, in fine, bore the complete stamp of a true Briton. His bald head was powdered, and a few thin hairs behind, were braided into a slender queue. His lively, light blue eyes, as he examined some written sheets before him, beamed with intelligence and pride, mixed with that shrewdness, which knows how to wear a hearty and straightforward appearance.

"So we are agreed, then, Colonel," said Charmilly, "and these thirteen articles, the sooner signed the better, will make us Englishmen."

"England," replied Whitelock, and his face assumed a smile, as much of contempt as of courtesy. "England will be heartily glad to receive these new citizens. I doubt not, his Excellency, General Williamson will grant all these fair demands, except two or three of quite secondary importance."

"The amount of the matter is," said Charmilly, "you would like to know what reliance can be placed on our assurances that we have a sufficient party at all the most important points." And with this, he drew out some papers, which the other examined with great apparent satisfaction.

"Don't forget," laughed Whitelock, rising, "that two regiments of redcoats, and from six to eight thousand Irish and Scotch will join you with the fleet. I think after all, we can stand the tug with these republicans, d—d clever fellows though they may be, provided men like you, Baron, fight in our ranks. But the sun will be up soon, and I must not be caught here. Before there is much stir in the street, I must be on board my fishing smack. So your last word. You wish me, as a preliminary step, to forward these proposals to his Excellency?"

"In the name of the inhabitants of Grande-Anse," replied the Baron. "Assure his Excellency that we are resolved to break these fetters, and he can rely on our devotion."

In the meanwhile, the Colonel had put on a naval jacket that had lain beside him; he tied a calico handkerchief round his neck, pulled a claret-coloured cap over his ears, and finished his array by an overcoat of the same colour. "I'll be d—d, if I know myself," said he, laughing, as he caught sight of himself in the glass, "but I would not give a sixpence for my life, had Santonax caught scent of the big seal that pushed against him yesterday, in such republican style."

The Baron shook hands with him, and he departed, the Baron conducting him cautiously to a gate which opened into a retired alley.

"Upon my honour," said the Baron to himself, when he had returned to his cabinet, putting his hand to his heart, which beat violently, "this old thing within here behaves as if all were not right! But why reproach myself? I have been a Frenchman, heart and soul. But the law of self-preservation is the first law, and—'*Ubi bene ibi patria*,' that's the rule. Away with these silly scruples!" Thus soliloquizing, he seized a pen, and proceeded to write letters, all of the same tenour, to the most conspicuous planters of Grande-Anse, informing them of the progress of the negotiations with the English. In this occupation the greater part of the morning was spent. He was at last interrupted by Jumecourt.

The young Creole looked pale and haggard. His head still bore a bandage, over which he had combed his rich black hair. He seemed languid and depressed.

"Sit down, Armand," said his uncle, "you do not look as well as you did. Are you worse, my boy?"

"I am better, much better, dear uncle," was the reply. "I feel quite able now to achieve great deeds."

"No jesting, young man," said the Baron. "I have hitherto made every fair allowance for you, but I have been grieved to see you continue so long without an object in life. Is this a fit life for the last and only scion of one of the oldest families in the country? Armand, you know how I love you; you know my intentions, but indeed I begin to doubt whether I shall ever live to see them fulfilled."

Jumecourt bore these reproaches at first in silence, but at this last remark he seized his uncle's hand, and said: "I deserve your indignation, but you shall see me reform."

"I have hitherto overlooked your idle pranks, but fy! to run after a mulatto woman, to be fooled by her and made an ape of by those false Rigauds. It makes me lose nearly all faith in you."

"If you only knew how beautiful she is," said Armand, with a sigh.

"And if you must needs gratify your lovesick follies," added Charmilly, "why not use greater caution? The abduction of a yellow girl is no rare occurrence here, and in your own family you know what may be the consequences. Formerly these mulattoes were submissive enough, but now-a-days things are different. You ought to have been more cautious. It is unpardonable to be so humbugged."

"And still more unpardonable to be outwitted by a gang of miserable slaves," muttered Jumecourt.

"You have not yet told me the whole extent of your folly," said the Baron, after a pause. "How came you to give up your prey so generously to the black rascals? It is outrageous!"

"O, dear uncle, I have been a fool. Don't be too hard upon me. I fell in with those damned thieves in the woods, and thought I had secured their service. Poor Antonina! I could go mad when I think of her fate. When I got my senses again after that blow, there stood her old father at my side, beseeching me to tell what had become of his child. I don't know what I said, for I was delirious. I fell to accusing myself, and called out after the d—d Romaine de la Prophetesse. And so I went on for a week. Then came the frantic Augustin. Petion kept at my side, to protect me from him, so it seemed. He behaved like a maniac, and it was his hateful presence, I really believe, that restored me to full consciousness. With half shut eyes I caught sight of Augustin's hollow cheeks and glaring eyes and quivering lips, and my pains were soothed by a feeling of exultation. "No traces," he exclaimed, in a tone that made my heart leap with joy, "no traces yet of her, my life, my sun!" And then with furious gestures, he swore revenge upon his wife and her ravishers. Petion had hard work to keep him off. In a day or two I was carried on board a boat and taken to Gonave, and thence to Port-au-Prince, where I was recovering when you came, dear uncle, and invited me hither."

"And here," said Charmilly, with a smile,—

"And here I should recover entirely," interrupted Jumecourt, "if my heart were quieter. I would gladly make myself acceptable to my fair cousin, and it rouses my ambition to be received so slightingly. You must help me, uncle."

"I should think you might have come to terms with the child before this," said the Baron. "My only aim is to unite you to each other."

"Has that always been your purpose, uncle?" said Armand. "Was that your aim when you countenanced my cousin's love for Captain Vincent?"

"I countenanced! Who devised that lie?"

"Know, then," said Jumecourt, "I have actually offered myself to Helen, and met with a refusal. When I pleaded your authority, she showed she did not believe me, and ran away. Captain Vincent seems to be pretty well established in her heart."

"This man," said Charmilly, "has got into my house like an evil spirit, and there's no getting rid of him. He seems ballproof. The blacks caught him, but his case was an exception. They spared his life. And here he is again on the old terms. True, I did not say no, when the stupid fellow tried to extort Helen's hand from me, nor did I say yes. I put him off, hoping for some turn of fortune. I induced Blanchelande to send him along the coast with dispatches, an excursion which very rarely agrees with a European."

"How I admire your wisdom," said Jumecourt, almost contemptuously. "This way of going to work is too slow for me," he added, roughly. "I will take it upon myself to get rid of him rather more speedily."

"Not too hasty, if you please," replied Charmilly, sternly; "and above all, no violence. He is evidently favoured of fortune, and you must take care how you play your game. If you call him out he will be sure to shoot you, and if you employ any desperado to do the business for you, he will be sure to miss, and end by betraying you under the gallows. And besides, I will have no such proceedings. The Captain is a brave young fellow; he has partaken of my hospitality, and I cannot but respect him. I will get him out of the way, and forever, and then as soon as the English flag floats over St. Nicholas and Port-au-Prince, we will celebrate your nuptials. Adieu, my time is out. I must hasten to the Assembly, and try, if possible, to avert the fate that awaits Blanchelande."

As he departed, Jumecourt sent a scornful smile after him. "Were the Captain to die of a coast fever, or be roasted by the negroes, it would suit my good uncle exactly; he would suffer no twinge of conscience; but I hate that man, because he dares to stand in my way. To be rejected for a soldier who has nothing but his sword! I must have my revenge. So Madame de Jumecourt, I must protect you from the perils of an unfortunate love affair."

CHAPTER IV.

Vincent was startled from his slumbers by wild shouts in the streets. The sun shone brightly, the young officer arose, and his attention was drawn to a conversation which his servant, Jacques, was carrying on, in a subdued voice, from the window of the adjoining room, with some cronies of his, in the street.

The conversation ended with Jacques' exclaiming, "There come the Commissaries! Now halloo with all your might! Shout, Arabella, you devil's skin, perhaps old Santonax will take pity on your rags and give you a new frock. Those fellows roar capitally, I declare. They are of the right sort. Blanchelande cannot stand that, that's certain."

At this moment he staggered back, and with a cry and an oath, picked up something that had fallen in upon the floor, and was about hurling it back again when he heard his master's voice, who had caught sight of the missile, a pretty heavy piece of wood, to which a paper was fastened with a string. "It's some devil's charm," exclaimed Jacques, who, fearing some mischief in it, would fain have kept it back from his master, but Vincent, opening the paper, read as follows:

"Friendship and greeting to Citizen Vincent, things of great moment are in preparation at the Cape, the result of which cannot be foreseen. The ears of the Commissaries listen when you speak. Avail yourself of the mercy of God for the promotion of virtue and liberty. Your friends rely on your co-operation. Give heed to what you here read. Should the Commissaries be in danger, there are faithful hands ready to aid them. In the hour of need, remember the house at the great basin, where *Jean Kisson* keeps an estminet. Inquire there about ten at night for *Juan Macaya*, who will show you how the insolence of the Creoles may be checked; they are the foes of God and man, the eternal enemies of virtue, liberty, and justice."

This singular note was signed T. B. and Vincent doubted not that it came from Toussaint Breda. He flung the note into the fire-pan, on which his breakfast had been prepared. He knew that the bulk of the black army, and probably Toussaint himself, were now in the Spanish Quarter. But it was obvious also that the revolted negroes, had a party at the Cape, and that their secret agents were keeping a close watch upon the proceedings of the whites.

Whilst Vincent went on dressing himself, Jacques was officiously entertaining him with an account of Blanchelande's tyranny, and intimating that this bitter enemy of the people would have to pay for it that very day. As his servant handed him his hat, Vincent recollected Jean Kisson, and with apparent unconcern, asked Jacques if he knew the cabaret.

"O, Sir," exclaimed Jacques, full of importance, "have you never heard of the old slave-father, who carried on his horrid business in that house for so many years?" "Never," was the reply.

"That cabaret," resumed Jacques, "has always been the resort of the very worst sort of people. Smugglers, and the blacks and mulattoes, who roam the streets by night. In fine, Sir, pirates, and robbers of all colours, sharpers and vermin of both sexes, young and old, are the constant customers of old Jean. He, himself, they say, used to know how to handle a knife, and knows how to catch runaway slaves, and to kidnap too, upon occasions."

"It is to be hoped" said Vincent, that a stop has been put to this abominable mode of life."

"The slaves of course have *all* run away now," replied the servant with a laugh, "still Jean's house is a great rendezvous for all the black rascals; for strange enough, he is a great favourite with them, although he has dealt so much in ebony and ivory."

"And where did you learn all this?"

"O, Sir," replied Jacques, not without embarrassment, "you must know that not only black and mulatto citizens visit Jean Kisson's saloons, but also a select class of ladies. The black fellow is up to all sorts of things. The rich Creoles, planters, and others, find him useful in their scrapes."

The conversation was interrupted by the shouts of the people. "So it is then," thought Vincent, "to a den of thieves and murderers Liberty is to look for salvation." For the present, however, there seemed no necessity to have recourse to Jean Kisson. For multitudes of the supporters of the Commissaries were then passing along the streets, singing, and threatening violence. The wharves appeared to be pouring forth all their heroes. Greedy for mischief and murder, they rushed onwards, crying out Blanchelande's name. They were followed by soldiers, marching in columns, and belonging, as Vincent saw, to regiments devoted to the Commissaries. The nearer he approached the Government House, the more dense became the throng, and the more manifest the symptoms of a design to carry it with a high hand. Gunners were standing by their pieces with lighted matches, and all the way down to the harbour were seen the glancing bayonets of the new regiments. Vincent smiled at the sight of all these preparations, and of the old Gen. De la Veaux, who, at the head of his staff, was cantering up and down, believing that the victim had escaped, and when Rochambeau, the man who afterwards performed so notorious a part in the history of St. Domingo, and of whose cruelty almost incredible stories are told—appeared coming up the street at a furious gallop. Vincent was all but sure that he was bringing the news of Blanchelande's flight. But suddenly the word of command was given, the soldiers fell into file, shouldering their muskets, and how great was Vincent's consternation when he saw a body of officers advancing slowly up the street. It was the unfortunate Blanchelande, who, attended by his aids and other officers, was graciously returning the tribute of respect paid to his rank, without the least apparent presentment of his fate. But the moment he reached the Government House, he stopped his horse, and turned his anxious eye upon the crowd, where not one face appeared that looked kindly upon him. La Veaux rode up to him, and taking hold of his reins, exclaimed: "There must be an end put to this farce before the offended people turn it into a tragedy. General, hasten into the Assembly, and try to justify yourself."

Blanchelande, evidently disturbed, cast an inquiring glance at the speaker, but meeting only with a chilling look, his pride was roused. His tall figure assumed a commanding air, and smiling as if in pity, he bowed to the General, and officers, and then to the people, and, dismounting, entered the House with dignified composure.

Vincent succeeded in obtaining a seat in one of the galleries just as Blanchelande appeared among the Deputies. The session had begun, and the Marquis de Borel was pouring out the most violent invectives against the Governor, whose entrance only increased the fury of the attack, and of whose fate, the appearance of the Assembly was ominous. Charmilly, with a few others, seemed disposed to stand or fall with Blanchelande. But the vindictive shouts of the multitude outside penetrated into the hall, and the friends of the Governor were silenced, and only the shrill voice of Borel was heard. His harangue, often interrupted, was hardly ended, when several members started up, and repeated the demand for justice, with which Borel had concluded. The galleries joined in the cry, and the fair sex was not wanting in expressions of their vindictiveness.

Santonax at last rose, and this simple movement produced an instantaneous silence, so great was the power of the Commissaries.

"Speak, citizen General," said he, sternly, "what reply have you to make to these aggravated charges?"

Blanchelande hesitated for a moment, as if to question the authority of the Assembly, being, as he was, the King's officer. But, accustomed to being chidden, he fancied that the old way would still avail him, and in a calm and dignified manner, he began with a review of his administration. As he proceeded, he became more animated, as he denounced the fury of parties, and so powerful was the picture he drew of the general distress, that gradually the voice of passion was silenced, and tears began to start to eyes that shortly before flashed with rage. The agitation spread from the hall to the galleries, and soon the friends of the accused took heart, and broke forth into shouts of applause, and some few cried: "He is innocent! He is a patriot! Blanchelande has done much for us. He is a victim of calumny!" Santonax began to be uneasy. Blanchelande, however, went on with increasing effect, and at last exclaimed: "Such has been my life, citizens of St. Domingo, my days have all been spent among you. I am a man, and therefore liable to err, but at all times my heart has been my country's, and who dares impeach me of treason?"

"I," said a voice, the clearness of whose tone increased the solemnity of the silence which reigned through the hall. A female figure, veiled in black, rose from one of the back seats, and came forward. Blanchelande grew pale, and starting backwards, held out his hands before him as if to dispel some frightful phantom, then fixing his eyes upon his child, as if he could not believe what he saw, he gasped out her name in a tone of heart-breaking tenderness.

(To be continued.)

MR. EDITOR:—With this "Olive Leaf," you will find an extract from my Journal of a "Week in Ireland." I hope the facts it contains may incline you to give the above Appeal a place in your paper, and to commend it to your readers by a paragraph from your own pen.—E. B.

A WEEK IN IRELAND.
LEAVES FROM THE EDITOR'S JOURNAL.

Skibbereen, Feb. 20. * * * * Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick called, with several gentlemen of the town, and in their company I took my first walk through the Potter's field of destitution and death. As soon as we opened the door, a crowd of haggard creatures pressed on us, and with agonizing prayers for bread, followed us to the soup kitchen. One poor woman, whose entreaties became irresistibly importunate, had watched all night in the grave-yard, lest the body of her husband should be stolen from his last resting-place, to which he had been consigned yesterday. She had left five children sick with the famine fever, in her hovel, and she raised an exceeding bitter cry for help. A man with swollen feet, pressed closely upon us, and begged for bread most piteously. He had pawned his shoes for food, which he had already consumed. The soup kitchen was surrounded by a cloud of these famine spectres, half naked, and standing or sitting in the mud, beneath a cold, drizzling rain. The narrow defile to the dispensary bar was choked with young and old of both sexes, struggling forward with their rusty tin and iron vessels, for soup; some of them upon all-fours, like famished beasts. There was a cheap bread dispensary opened in one end of the building; and the principal pressure was at the door of this.—Among the attenuated apparitions of humanity that thronged this gate of stinted charity, one poor man presented himself under circumstances that even distinguished his case from the rest. He lived several miles from the centre of the town, in one of the rural districts, where he found himself on the eve of perishing, with his family of seven small children. Life was worth the last struggle of nature, and the miserable skeleton of a father had fastened his youngest child to his back; and with four more by his side, had staggered up to the door, just as we entered the bread department of the establishment. The hair upon his face was nearly as long as that upon his head. His cheeks were fallen in, and his jaws so distended, that he could scarcely articulate a word. His four little children were sitting upon the ground, by his feet, nestling together, and trying to hide their naked limbs under their dripping rags. How these poor things could stand upon their feet and walk, and *walk* five miles, as they had done, I could not conceive.

Their appearance, though common to thousands in this region of the shadow of death, was indescribable. Their paleness was not that of common sickness. There was no sallow tinge in it. They did not look as if newly raised from the grave, and to life, before the blood had begun to fill their veins anew; but as if they had just been thawed out of the ice, in which they had been imbedded until their blood had turned to water.

Leaving this battle-field of life, I accompanied Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Catholic minister, into one of the hovel lanes of the town. We found in every tenement we entered, enough to sicken the stoutest heart. In one we found a shoemaker, who was at work before a hole in the mud wall of his hut, about as large as a small pane of glass. There were five in his family, and he said when he could get work he could earn about three shillings a week. In another cabin we discovered a nailer, by the small light of his fire, working in a space not three feet square. He too had a large family, half of whom were down with the fever; and he could earn but two shillings a week. About the middle of this filthy lane we came to the ruin of a hovel which had fallen during the night, and had killed a man who had taken shelter in it with his wife and child. He had come in from the country; and, ready to perish with cold and hunger, had entered this falling house of clay. He was warned of his danger, but answered that die he must unless he found a shelter before morning. He had kindled a small fire with some straw and bits of turf, and was crouching over it, when the whole roof and gable end of earth and stones came down upon him and his child, and crushed him to death over the slow fire. The child had been pulled out alive, and carried to the workhouse; but the father was still lying there, upon the dung heap of the fallen roof, slightly covered with a piece of canvas. On lifting this, a humiliating spectacle presented itself. What rags the poor man had upon him when buried beneath the falling roof, were mostly torn from his body in the last faint struggle for life; his neck and shoulder, and right arm, were burnt to a cinder. There he lay in the ruin, like the carcase of a brute beast thrown upon the dunghill. As we continued our walk along this filthy lane, half-naked women and children would come out of their cabins, apparently in the last stage of the fever, to beg for food, "for the honour of God." As they stood upon the wet ground, we could almost see it smoke beneath their bare feet, burning with the fever. We entered the grave-yard, in the midst of which was a small watch-house.—This miserable shed had served as a grave where the dying could bury themselves. It was seven feet long and six in breadth. It was already walled round on the outside with an embankment of graves half way to the eaves. The aperture of this horrible den of death would scarcely admit the entrance of a common-sized person. And into this noisome sepulchre living men, women, and children, went down to die; to pillow upon the rotten straw, the grave-clothes vacated by preceding victims, and festering with their fever. Here they lay as closely to each other as if crowded side by side on the bottom of one grave. Six persons had been found in this feted sepulchre at one time, and with one only able to crawl to the door, and to ask for water. Removing a board from the entrance of this black hole of pestilence, we found it crammed with wan victims of famine, ready and willing to perish. A quiet, listless despair broods over the population, and cradles men for the grave.

Returned from this painful walk, nearly drenched through, and sad at the thought that I could not administer any relief to my perishing fellow-beings. Spent the evening in writing letters to England.

Skibbereen, Feb. 21. * * * * Dr. Donovan called at two, P. M. and we proceeded together to visit a lane of hovels on the opposite side of the village. The wretchedness of this little mud-city of the dead and dying was of a deeper stamp than the one I saw yesterday. Here human beings and their clayey habitations seemed to be melting down together into the earth. I can find no language nor illustration sufficiently impressive to portray the spectacle to an American reader. A cold, drizzling rain was deepening the pools of black filth, into which it fell like ink-drops from the clouds. Few of the young or old have not read of the scene exhibited on the field of battle after the action, when visited by the surgeon. The cries of the wounded and dying, for help, have been described by many graphic pens. The agonizing entreaty, for "Water! water!! help! help!!" has been conveyed to our minds with painful distinctness. I can liken the scene we witnessed in this low lane of famine and pestilence to nothing of greater family resemblance, than that of the battle-field, when the hostile armies have retired, leaving one-third of their number bleeding upon the ground. As soon as Dr. Donovan appeared at the end of the lane, it was filled with miserable beings, haggard, famine-stricken men, women, and children, some far gone in the consumption of the famine fever, and all imploring him "for the honour of God," to go in and see "my mother," "my father," "my wife," "my boy," "who is very bad, your honour." And then interspersed with these earnest entreaties, others louder still would be raised for bread. In every hovel we entered we found the dying or the dead. In one of these straw-roofed burrows eight persons had died within the last fortnight, and five more were lying upon the fetid, pestiferous straw, upon which their predecessors to the grave had been consumed by the wasting fever of famine. In scarcely a single one of these most inhuman habitations was there the slightest indication of food of any kind to be found, nor fuel to cook food, nor anything resembling a bed, unless it were a thin layer of filthy straw in one corner, upon which the sick persons lay, partly covered with some ragged garment. There being no window, nor aperture to admit the light, in these wretched cabins, except the door, we found ourselves often in almost total darkness for the first moment of our entrance. But a faint glimmering of a handful of burning straw in one end would soon reveal to us the indistinct images of wan-faced children grouped together, with their large, plaintive, still eyes, looking out at us, like the sick young of wild beasts in their dens. Then the groans, and the choked, incoherent entreaties for help, of some man or woman wasting away with the sickness, in some corner of the cabin, would apprise us of the number and condition of the family. The wife, mother, or child, would frequently light a wisp of straw, and hold over the face of the sick person, discovering to us the sooty features of some emaciated creature in the last stage of the fever. In one of these places we found an old woman stretched upon a pallet of straw with her head within a foot of a handful of fire, upon which something was steaming in a small iron vessel. The doctor removed the cover, and we found it was filled with a kind of slimy sea-weed, which I believe is used for manure on the seaboard. This was all the nourishment that the daughter could serve to her sick mother. But the last cabin we visited in this painful walk, presented to our eyes a lower deep of misery. It was the residence of two families, both of which had been thinned down to half their original number by the sickness. The first sight that met my eyes on entering was the body of a dead woman, extended on one side the fireplace. On the other an old man was lying on some straw, so feeble as to be unable to articulate distinctly. He might have been ninety, or fifty years of age. It was difficult to determine; for this wasting consumption of want brings out the extremest indices of old age in the features of even the young. But there was another apparition which sickened all the flesh and blood of my nature. It has haunted me during the past night, like Banquo's ghost. I have lain awake for hours, struggling for some graphic and truthful similes or new elements of description, by which I might convey to the distant reader some tangible image of this object. A dropsical affection among the young and old is very common to all the sufferers by famine. I had seen men at work on the public roads with their limbs swollen almost to twice their usual size. But when the woman of this cabin lifted from the straw, from behind the dying man, a boy about twelve years of age, and held him up before us upon his feet, the most horrifying spectacle met our eyes. The cold, watery-faced child was entirely naked in front, from his neck down to his feet. His body was swollen to nearly three times its usual size, and had burst the ragged garment that covered him, and which now dangled in shreds behind him. The woman of the other family, who was sitting at her end of the hovel, brought forward her little infant, a thin-faced baby of two years, with clear, sharp eyes, that did not wink, but stared stock still at vacancy, as if a glimpse of another existence had eclipsed its vision. Its cold, naked arms were not much larger than pipe-stems, while its body was swollen to the size of a full grown person. Let the reader group these apparitions of death and disease into the space of ten feet square, and then multiply it into three-fourths of the hovels in this region of Ireland; and he will arrive at a fair estimate of the extent and degree of its misery. Were it not for giving them pain, I should have been glad if the well-dressed children in America could have entered these hovels with us, and looked upon the young creatures wasting away unmurmuringly, by slow, consuming destitution. I am sure they would have been touched to the liveliest compassion at the spectacle, and have been ready to divide their wardrobe with the sufferers.

Skibbereen, Feb. 22. * * * Dr. Badden called to take me into Castlehaven parish, which comes within his circuit. This district borders upon the sea, whose rocky, indented shores, are covered with cabins of a worse description than those at Skibbereen. On our way we passed several companies of men, women, and children at work, all enfeebled and emaciated by destitution. Women, with their red, swollen feet, partially swathed in old rags, some in men's coats, with the arms or skirts torn off, were sitting by the roadside, breaking stones. It was painful to see human labour and life struggling among the lowest interests of society. Men, once athletic labourers, were trying to eke out a few miserable days to their existence by toiling upon these works. Poor creatures! Many of them are already famine-stricken: they have reached a point from which they cannot be recovered. Dr. Donovan informs me that he can tell at a glance whether a person has reached this point or not. And I am assured by several experienced observers that there are thousands of men who rise in the morning and go forth to labour with their picks and shovels in their hands, who are irrecoverably doomed to death. No human aid can save them. The plague-spot of famine is on their foreheads; the worm of want has eaten in two their heart-strings. Still they go forth uncomplaining, to their labour; and toil, cold, famished, and half-naked, upon the roads; and divide their eight or ten pence worth of food at night among a sick family of five or eight persons. Some are kept at home, and prevented from earning this miserly pittance, by the fear, that some of their family may die before they return.

The first habitation we entered in the Castlehaven district, was literally a hole in the wall, occupied by what might be called, in America, a squatter, or a man who had burrowed a place for himself and family in the acute angle of two dilapidated walls by the roadside, where he lived rent free. We entered this stinted den by an aperture about three feet high, and found one or two children lying asleep, with their eyes open, in the straw. Such, at least, was their appearance; for they scarcely winked while we were before them. The father came in, and told us a pitiful story of want, saying that not a morsel of food had they tasted for twenty-four hours. He lighted a wisp of straw, and showed us one or two more children lying in another nook of the cave. Their mother had died; and he was obliged to leave them alone during most of the day, in order to glean something for their subsistence. We were soon among the most wretched habitations that I had yet seen, far worse than those in Skibbereen. Many of them were flat-roofed hovels, half buried in the earth, or built up against the rocks, and covered with rotten straw, sea-weed or turf. In one, which was scarcely seven feet square, we found five persons prostrate with the fever, and apparently near their end. A girl about sixteen, the very picture of despair, was the only one left who could administer any relief; and all she could do was to bring water in a broken pitcher to slake their parched lips. As we proceeded up the rocky hill overlooking the scene, we encountered new sights of wretchedness. Seeing a cabin standing somewhat by itself in a hollow, and surrounded by a moat of green filth, we entered it with some difficulty, and found a single child, about three years old, lying upon a kind of shelf, with its little face resting upon the edge of the board, and looking stedfastly out at the door as if for its mother. It never moved its eyes as we entered, but kept them fixed toward the entrance. It is doubtful whether the poor thing had a mother or father left to her; but it is more doubtful still whether those eyes would have relapsed their vacant gaze, if both of them had entered at once, with everything that could tempt the palate in their hands. No words can describe this peculiar appearance of the famished children. Never have I seen such bright, blue, clear eyes, looking so stedfastly at nothing. I could almost fancy that the angels of God had been sent to unseal the vision of these little, patient, perishing creatures to the beatitudes of another world; and that they were listening to the whispers of unseen spirits bidding them to "wait a little longer." Leaving this we entered another cabin, in which we found seven or eight attenuated young creatures, with a mother who had pawned her cloak, and could not venture out to beg for bread because she was not fit to be seen on the streets. Hearing a voice of wailing from a cluster of huts further up the hill, we proceeded to them, and entered one, and found several persons weeping over the dead body of a woman lying by the wall near the door. Stretched upon the ground here and there lay several sick persons; and the place seemed a den of pestilence. The filthy straw was rank with the festering fever. Leaving this habitation of death, we were met by a woman in an agony of despair, because no one would give her a coffin to bury her father in. She pointed to a cart at some distance, upon which his body lay; and she was about to follow it to the grave; and he was such a good father that she could not bear to lay him like a beast in the ground; and she begged a coffin "for the honour of God." While she was wailing and weeping for this boon, I cast my eye towards the cabin we had just left; and a sight met my view which made me shudder with horror. The husband of the dead woman came staggering out, with her body upon his shoulders, slightly covered with a piece of rotten canvas. I will not dwell upon the details of this spectacle. Painfully and slowly he bore the remains of the late companion of his misery to the cart. We followed him, a little way off, and saw him deposit his burden along side of the father of the young woman, and by her assistance. As the two started for the grave-yard to bury their own dead, we pursued our walk still further on, and entered another cabin, where we encountered the climax of human misery. Surely, thought I, while regarding this new phenomenon of suffering, there can be no lower deep than this, between us and the bottom of the grave. On asking after the condition of the inmates, the woman, to whom we addressed the question, answered by taking out of the straw three breathing skeletons, ranging from two to three feet in height, and *entirely naked:* and these human things were alive! If they had been dead they could not have been such frightful spectacles. They were alive; and, wonderful to say, they could stand upon their feet, and even walk; but it was awful to see them do it. Had their bones been divested of the skin that held them together, and been covered with a veil of thin muslin, they would not have been more visible. Especially when one of them clung to the door while a sister was urging it forward, it assumed an appearance which can have been seldom paralleled this side of the grave. The effort which it made to cling to the door disclosed every joint in its frame, while the deepest lines of old age furrowed its face. The enduring of ninety years of sorrow seemed to chronicle its record of woe upon the poor child's countenance. I could bear no more; and we returned to Skibbereen, after having been all the afternoon among those abodes of misery. On our way we overtook the cart with the two uncoffined bodies. The man and young woman were all that attended them to the grave. Last year, the funeral of either would have called out hundreds of mourners from those hills; but now the husband drove his uncoffined wife to the grave without a tear in his eye, without a word of sorrow.

About half way to Skibbereen Dr. Hadden proposed that we should diverge to another road to visit a cabin in which we should find two little girls living alone, with their dead mother, who had lain unburied seven days. He gave an affecting history of this poor woman; and we turned from the road to visit this new scene of desolation; but as it was growing quite dark, and the distance was considerable, we concluded to resume our way back to the village. In fact I had witnessed as much as my heart could bear.

In the evening I met several gentlemen at the house of Mr. Swanton, among whom was Dr. Donovan. He had just returned from a neighbouring parish, where he visited a cabin which had been deserted by the poor people around, although it was known that some of its inmates were still alive, though dying in the midst of the dead. He knocked at the door; and hearing no voice within, burst it open with his foot; and was, in a moment, almost overpowered by the horrid stench. Seeing a man's leg protruding from the straw, he moved them slightly with his foot, when a husky voice asked for water. In another part of the cabin, on removing a piece of canvas, he discovered three dead bodies, which had lain there *unburied for a fortnight;* and hard against one of these, and almost embraced in the arms of death, lay a young person far gone with the fever. He related other cases too horrible to be published.

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